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DATE 09-14-2007 BY 60324 AUAC BAW/RS/VCF

As Pegler Sees It Points to Omissions In 'Expose' of Reds

By WESTBROOK PEGLER
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ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr., who reviewed and praised in the New York Herald Tribune a book called "The Plotters," is a son of Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Sr., a Harvard professor of history.



Young Mr. Schlesinger is precocious. He recently did a piece for Henry Luce's Life Magazine purporting to give the lowdown on the Communist Party in the United States. He named some CIO unions which are dominated by the Communists, but I found fault with him in that he might have emphasized the Communist influence in others, among them the New York Newspaper Guild, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and the Office and Professional Workers Union, all of the CIO.

Young Schlesinger does not mention the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, a creature of the CIO, although he does say that the greatest field of Communist penetration is the trade unions. The N. C. P. A. C. is a Sidney Hillman political front and Schlesinger's father is a prominent member.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, formerly known as the Dies Committee, compiled a great and reliable directory of persons, organizations and causes involved in the Communist and Fascist movements in the United States. It shows the attachment of many individuals to groups and causes which it investigated without necessarily suggesting guilt.

However, by a decision of the Supreme Court in the Harry Bridges deportation case, an American, or even an alien, is without guilt even though he associate and co-operate with ideological enemies of the American Government who advocate its destruction by violence, if in that association and co-operation he shall stop short of joining them in the advocacy of that final objective. Thus Prof. Schlesinger could gallily collaborate with inimical Communists and remain legally innocent.

- Mr. Tolson.....
- Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
- Mr. Clegg.....
- Mr. Coffey.....
- Mr. Glavin.....
- Mr. Ladd.....
- Mr. Nichols.....
- Mr. Rosen.....
- Mr. Tracy.....
- Mr. Carson.....
- Mr. Egan.....
- Mr. Gurnea.....
- Mr. Hendon.....
- Mr. Pennington.....
- Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
- Mr. Nease.....

Arthur M. Schlesinger
Communism -- U.S.A.

NOT RECORDED

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FORWARDED BY N. Y.

Journal American
12-5-46

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THE FIRST MENTION OF PROF. SCHLESINGER IN THE reports of the committee to Congress occurs on page 265. There he is listed as a member of "The National Citizens' Political Action Committee."

"The National Citizens' Political Action Committee includes a formidable list of confirmed fellow-travelers and frontiers for Communist organizations," the report says.

"It has been clearly established that the N. C. P. A. C. is the major front organization of the movement. It represents the Communist Party's supreme bid for power. It is clear that the major objective of the Hillman-Browder CIO axis is the gaining of a dominant position in the councils of the Democratic Party. The genius of the Communist front organization is to secure the services of distinguished persons whose very names add in concealing the real character of the organization."

"Concerning Communist front organizations, the Attorney General (Biddle) made the following observations: 'Testimony showed they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.'"

The report then relates that Biddle circulated among department heads of the executive branch of the Government memoranda naming 25 organizations as subversive and Communist. The committee found that 82 of 141 members of Hillman's N. C. P. A. C. had been associated with those 25 groups.

PROF. SCHLESINGER IS LISTED as a signer of a petition to discontinue the Dies Committee sponsored by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

"The committee is a Communist front operating among college teachers and professors," the report to Congress stated. "The committee was strongly preoccupied with the defense of Communists. The committee issued the call for a so-called Citizens' Committee to defend free public education; the real object of which is to vilify and obstruct the New York Legislative Committee investigating subversive activities in the public schools. A long list of Communist teachers was exposed by this (legislative) committee, and they were subsequently dropped."

The report names Prof. Schlesinger as a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy. It says the Communists considered aid to the Loyalist (Communist) side in Spain to be of first importance.

Prof. Schlesinger was named as a signer of a letter to President Roosevelt asking an amendment to the neutrality law, adopted to guard against involvement of this country in foreign wars, so that the American Communists might openly ship arms to the so-called Loyalists. This was a Communist Party project at the time, but a number of prominent Americans, never suspected of pro-Communist sentiments, signed the letter.

PROF. SCHLESINGER IS NAMED as an "affiliate" of the American Student Union. The report says this union was a merger of the National Student League (Communist) and the Student League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist).

"The merger was in accord with the united front policy adopted by the Communist International in 1935 calling for joint action with Socialist groups throughout the world," the report continues.

"The combined organization was under Communist control from its inception and followed the official objectives of the Communist Party."

"On numerous occasions, the American Student Union exposed its connections with the Communist Party and its loyal adherence to the party line. Without exception the union supported defense of teachers and students charged with Communist activity."

The report named Prof. Schlesinger as a sponsor of the National Emergency Conference.

"The personnel of the sponsors of the conference indicates clearly that it was a Communist front organization," say the report. "A check of the index of this report will establish the extensive interlocking directorate of the conference with all other Communist-front organizations."

HE WAS NAMED AGAIN AS AN "AFFILIATE" of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights. The report says that in 1940 the Communists decided to revise their organizations and showed a preference for the phrase "democratic rights" in naming the new groupings. The report flatly calls this conference a "Communist Front."

Schlesinger is named again as an "affiliate" of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. The report said it was highly significant that almost 25 per cent of the teachers of this Federation were members of Hillman's National Citizens' P. A. C.

Prof. Schlesinger's biography in "Who's Who in America" lists many associations, but none of the foregoing.

The Dies Committee made an exhaustive run-down of the members of Hillman's National Citizens' Political Action Committee through the membership rolls of hundreds of Red-front organizations and the signers of appeals, proclamations and petitions issued by groups allied or affiliated with the Communists.

Young Schlesinger's two articles in Life and the Herald-Tribune emphasize the importance of his remark that the mysticism in the United States are most difficult to because the movement is so efficiently organized.

Withbrook Pagler's column and many more fees

FROM THE

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RECORDED 100-348485-2
SAC, Boston

June 6, 1947

EX-40 Director, FBI

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurlet May 21, 1947. The Bureau desires that you institute a discreet investigation immediately and ascertain the background and the activities of the subject in connection with the Communist Party and its various front groups.

This matter should receive your attention immediately and the results of your inquiries should be forwarded to the Bureau.

JEM:deK:EW

G.I.R. 5

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED 10
★ JUN 6 - 1947 P.M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Tolson
E. A. Tamm
Clegg
Glavin
Ladd
Nichols
Rosen
Tracy
Carson
Egan
Gurnea
Harbo
Hendon
Pennington
Quinn Tamm
Room
Nease
Gandy

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

~~STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE: 5/21/47

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: *iticism* ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING; ATTACK
ON DIRECTOR AND BUREAU;
SECURITY MATTER - C
REFER 5 IS

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., is presently Associate Professor of History at Harvard University on Leave of Absence. He is the author of the 1945 Pulitzer Prize in History for his Book: "The Age of JACKSON." This book was a best seller. While on leave, Mr. SCHLESINGER JR., is residing in Chevy Chase, Maryland, while completing another historical work.

SCHLESINGER, JR., is the son of ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, who is the chairman of the Department of History at Harvard University. The elder SCHLESINGER is the subject of an inactive Security Matter File in the Boston Office, resulting from constant affiliations with Communist Front organizations over a period of years. There is no information reflecting that either SCHLESINGER has ever been a member of the Communist Party.

With reference to the younger SCHLESINGER, it is noted that "The Age of Jackson" was published by the LITTLE BROWN Publishing Company in Boston, Mass., and that during the days attending its preparation and release, SCHLESINGER, JR., was in frequent contact with [redacted]. The latter person is the [redacted] and is the subject of a pending Internal Security - C case in Boston.

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[redacted] has earlier noted that the Book was published by the LITTLE BROWN COMPANY at \$5.00 per copy. Simultaneously, with the award of the Pulitzer Prize, the author permitted reissue of the Book by the Book Find Club at \$1.35 per copy. The latter organization, as you well know, is a Book of the Month Group, operated by Communists and Communist

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INDEXED

EX-40

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sympathizers. The book was well regarded by the Progressive Book Store locally. In approximately June, 1946, SCHLESINGER, JR., who is now a feature writer for ~~TIME-LIFE-FORTUNE~~, wrote an article for LIFE, analyzing the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA. The article was critical and indicated that the Party was subservient to Moscow. [] reports that following publication of this article, SCHLESINGER was no longer a welcome figure at the offices of the LITTLE BROWN Publishing Company.

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b7D

SCHLESINGER has also reviewed a number of Communist and Anti-Communist books for the New York Times, Sunday Book Review. A review of these items together with his TIME-LIFE and FORTUNE articles, might well warrant the conclusion that SCHLESINGER, JR., has Trotzkyite sympathies.

On May 17, 1947, Special Agents of this office had occasion to interview [] of the [] of [] at Weston, Mass. It is noted that [] is frequently called upon to represent [] gatherings and that this practice has developed for him a very wide acquaintanceship among the "liberal" leaders in the civic and social life of Boston. [] reported that earlier in the week in such a capacity he had attended a dinner given in honor of Dr. GEORGE COLEMAN Founder of the Ford Hall Forum in Boston, Mass. The files of the Boston Office reflect that the Forum has been used by many speakers of a radical and Communist philosophy as a sounding board over a long period of years. However, there is no indication that the Forum is under the control of the Communist Party. [] advised that each guest present was asked to deliver a two minute tribute to Dr. COLEMAN. [] SCHLESINGER, JR. When SCHLESINGER, JR., arose, he broke the rule of the evening by talking for ten minutes. During the entire time, he endeavored to make two points: 1. to praise the Ford Hall Forum and its Founder for their willingness to allow "liberal and progressive speakers" to appear; and 2. an attack upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for their "unwarranted interferences with our democratic way of life."

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With reference to the second point, [] stated that SCHLESINGER declared that the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities did not differ either in method of operation or in results. Both organizations ostensibly dedicated to the preservation of the American way

BS #

of life, are doing much to destroy this "modus vivandi", by their incessant and unwarranted attacks upon persons and organizations of liberal persuasion. He stated that there was no difference between the two organizations and that people should stop trying to establish one.

After he had sat down, [] inquired of him as to whether or not there were any differences in the personalities and philosophies of JOHN EDGAR HOOVER and Congressman, JOHN RANKIN. SCHLESINGER, JR., informed [] that there were no differences and that if anything, JOHN EDGAR HOOVER represented a more destructive force in American public life today than any Fascist, who might be named, including RANKIN.

The foregoing has been prepared for the completion of Bureau files, particularly since it is quite likely that at some future date, Mr. SCHLESINGER, Jr., might request an interview with the Director or a Tour of the Bureau in connection with the preparation of a magazine article.

No further inquiry is being conducted into the activities of this individual; but information as received by Informants concerning him will be properly indexed in the Boston Office files.

In the event that this information is disseminated, it is requested that a Confidential Cover be afforded to [] who is a reliable and frequently valuable source of information concerning figures in the educational and scientific world in Greater Boston. It might be noted that [] asserted that he did not endeavor to defend the Director further because he felt that SCHLESINGER, Jr., had a closed mind on the topic.

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DATE 09-14-2007 BY 60324 AUAC BAW/RS/VCF

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NMENT

TO : Director, FBI
FROM : SAC, Boston
SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

DATE: July 15, 1947

Reference is made to report of Special Agent [REDACTED] dated 7-15-47 at Boston, Mass., in connection with the above-entitled matter.

No request has been made of the Washington Division to examine the Subject's file at OWI and OSS because of his national prominence as a writer and because such inquiry might cause embarrassment to the Bureau. It has been left to the discretion of the Bureau to decide whether or not any such inquiry should be made, it being noted that SCHLESINGER has maintained his headquarters either at Washington, D.C., or in Europe since 1942 and his activities at Washington, D.C. could be more readily obtained through other sources of information.

TFM:MCG
100-17132

SE 34 100-348485-
RECORDED 37 JUL 17 1947

SEP 26 1947

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **BOSTON**

FILE NO. **100-17132 MCG**

REPORT MADE AT BOSTON, MASS.	DATE WHEN MADE 7-15-47	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 6-27, 30; 7-1, 3-47	REPORT MADE BY
TITLE ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Jr			CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8-17-88 BY SP1AG/OK # 284222			
SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: SCHLESINGER, ~~age 20~~, born Columbus, Ohio, 10-15-17. Received A.B. Degree (summa cum laude), Harvard, 1938, in History and Literature and awarded Henry Fellowship for study in England 1939. Returned to Harvard as Junior Fellow 2-19-42 doing private study and research. Thereafter associated with OWI, Washington, D.C. Went to Europe with OSS until 1945 and while with OSS supervised preparation of intelligence reports to SHEAF, wrote historical work "Age of Jackson," awarded Pulitzer Prize 1945 and thereafter contributed articles to LIFE, FORTUNE, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, THE NATION and New York Times Book Review Section on politics and government. Appointed Associate Professor, History Department, Harvard University at age 28 and presently on leave to Fall 1947 while doing research for book, "The Age of Roosevelt," being prepared under a Guggenheim Fellowship. Awarded citation as one of ten outstanding young men in 1947 by Junior Chamber of Commerce of U.S. Wrote "The Communist Party, USA," an article for LIFE magazine 7-29-46, in which he exposed the international interests and activities of the C.P. as unquestioning servants of the Soviet Union;" however with his father, Professor <u>ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER</u>, Harvard History Department, has decried the "Dies Committee," and "Witch Hunts," and prescribes strengthening of American Democracy as antidote to Communist challenge. SCHLESINGER described by informants as "a New Deal liberal" -- anti-Communist and pro-American but a civil liberties leader for freedom of expression. One informant reports Subject critical of FBI and			
IN O SFD 1947 14 STATIS AGENCY <i>icc - State Wash</i> REQ. REC'D <i>7-8-53</i> REP'T FORW. <i>9-28-53</i> BY <i>J.S. - J.E.H.</i>			
COPIES DESTROYED R 132 AUG 16 1962			
APPROVED AND FORWARDED 		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT		DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
5 - Bureau 3 - Boston SEP 26 1947		100-348485-74 37 JUL 18 1947	
COPY IN FILE		RECORDED & INDEXED	

Synopsis (Cont'd.)

Director HOOVER for "interference with our democratic way of life" through security investigations. Additional details set forth. Subject member AVC and ADA and married [redacted] of the late Dr. WALTER B. CANNON, active in JAFRC and in whose name a Walter B. Cannon Memorial Fund for Spanish Refugees in South France was established, which is believed to be the main function of the Boston Chapter of the JAFRC. Presently residing 4202 Curtis Road, Chevy Chase, Maryland. No criminal record. Credit information set forth. b6 b7C

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Reference: Bureau letter to Boston dated 6-6-47.

Details: By letter dated May 21, 1947, the Boston Division advised the Bureau that information had been provided indicating that ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., presently on leave as Associate Professor of History at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, had addressed a dinner given in honor of Dr. GEORGE COLEMAN, founder of Ford Hall Forum at Boston, Massachusetts. This dinner took place at Boston, Massachusetts during the early part of May, 1947, and included among those in attendance was [redacted] from the [redacted] of [redacted] at Weston, Massachusetts. [redacted] advised that during the course of the remarks by SCHLESINGER at the dinner, he praised the Ford Hall Forum and its founder for their willingness to allow liberal and progressive speakers to appear, and attacked the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for their "unwarranted interferences with our democratic way of life." By letter dated June 6, 1947, the Bureau instructed that investigation be conducted to establish the background and activity of SCHLESINGER in connection with the Communist Party and its affiliated front groups. b7D

BOS. 100-17132

PERSONAL HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The May, 1946 supplement to "Who's Who in America" identified ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., born Columbus, Ohio October 15, 1917 to ARTHUR M. and ELIZABETH BANCROFT SCHLESINGER.

SCHLESINGER's father has been associated with the History Department at Harvard University since 1924 and presently holds the Francis Lee Higginson Chair of History at Harvard University.

The Subject was graduated from Harvard College in 1938 with a Degree of A.B., summa cum laude, with concentration in History and Literature. Thereafter he was awarded a Henry Fellowship for study in England, which was completed during 1939. Thereafter, he returned to Harvard College as a member of the Society of Fellows having been selected by the faculty for private study and research, and continued in that position through 1942.

In 1942, SCHLESINGER became associated with the Office of War Information at Washington, D.C., and in 1943 was transferred to the Office of Strategic Services. Thereafter, according to additional investigation which will be subsequently set forth, SCHLESINGER went to Europe and eventually was assigned the responsibility of supervising the preparation of intelligence reports to the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces connected with the counter-espionage activities of the Office of Strategic Services.

SCHLESINGER left the OSS in 1945 upon his return to the United States. Thereafter, he was given a grant by the American Academy of Arts and Letters, one of 23 individuals so honored for past achievement and further creative art to work in the field of writing history.

The Harvard University Official Register, issued on November 25, 1946, lists ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Jr., as Associate Professor of History and tutor in the Department of History with a note that he is absent during the academic year 1946-1947.

BOS. 100-17132

FAMILY HISTORY

Applicants

The Subject's father, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, was born on February 27, 1888 at Xenia, Ohio, and according to "Who's Who in 1946" has been the recipient of the following Degrees: B.A., Ohio State, 1910; M.A., Columbia University, 1911; Ph.D., Columbia University, 1917; Dr. of Literature, Beloit College, 1928; L.H.D., Union College, 1942.

The Subject's father served as Professor at Ohio State University from 1912 to 1919 and from 1919 to 1924 was Head of the Department of History at the University of Iowa. Since 1924, ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, SR., has been associated with the History Department at Harvard University and since 1939 has held the Chair of Francis Lee Higginson, Professor of History. The family residence is 19 Gray-Martins Estate, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Gardens*

① "Who's Who" continues and identifies Professor SCHLESINGER, SR., as a member of the National Commission on Freedom of the Press and the Associate for Study of Negro Life and History. He is regarded as an outstanding author, editor and teacher in the field of American History and a Pulitzer Prize winner in 1941.

The indices of the Boston Division indicate that Professor SCHLESINGER, SR. was recorded among those individuals who protested the denial of free speech to EARE BROWDER in 1939 and has been active in connection with the affairs of the Civil Liberties Union.

In connection with inquiries which were made regarding the Young Communist League at Harvard University in 1933, it was determined that in an attempt by the YCL to obtain recognition on the Harvard Campus, included among those members of the faculty who had indicated a willingness to act as sponsor for the YCL was Professor ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, SR.

② More Recently, the Joint Legislative Committee on Rules of the Massachusetts General Court, has held public hearings in connection with pending legislative orders relating to the creation of a commission to investigate subversive activities within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Upon the occasion

BOS. 100-17132

of the public hearings which took place in April 7, 1947, the position of opposition to the legislation, which has since been defeated, was presented by the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, and [redacted] has made available a mimeographed statement which was placed in the individual mail boxes of all members of the Massachusetts General Court including House of Representatives and Senate after the date of the hearing, indicating that the persons whose names were fixed to the statement were opposed to the legislation. This informant was of the opinion that the statement was prepared by the Civil Liberties Union, although there is no signature affixed to it nor any indication as to its author. Included among those listed on the statement as opposing the investigative legislation, as indicated, was Professor A. M. SCHLESINGER, who is believed to be identical with the father of the Subject: 7

The "New York Times" on April 7, 1947, set forth a letter addressed by faculty members at Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology urging that Congress appropriate an increased amount of money for research work in the scientific fields. Included among those who were signers to the petition were [redacted]

[redacted] all associated with Harvard University and all the subjects of Internal Security-C investigations in the Boston Division. In addition to these signatures was that of ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, who may be identical with the Subject's father.

On August 10, 1940, the Subject married [redacted] of Cambridge, Massachusetts, [redacted] of the late Dr. WALTER B. CANNON, a former Professor at Harvard University School of Medicine.

The files of the Boston Division identify Dr. WALTER B. CANNON as a member of and active in connection with the affairs of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and upon his death the JAFRC has established a WALTER B. CANNON Memorial Hospital Fund for Spanish Republicans in Southern France, and at the present time it is believed that this fund is the main function of the Boston Chapter of the JAFRC through which moneys are raised for the various interests and activities of the JAFRC. [redacted]

BOS. 100-17132

[redacted] of the Boston Chapter of the JAFRC and with [redacted]
[redacted] is the subject of an Internal Security-
C investigation in connection with their activities at the
[redacted] for [redacted] of which [redacted]
is [redacted] is a known
Communist front educational unit established and operating
in Boston as a front organization.

LITERARY INTERESTS AND WRITINGS

Upon Professor SCHLESINGER JR.'s graduation from Harvard University and at the conclusion of his Henry Fellowship of study in England, he prepared and had published by the Little Brown Company, Boston, Massachusetts, an historical work entitled "The Age of Jackson," which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1945. Thereafter, he has contributed numerous articles to national publications, to wit, LIFE, FORTUNE, ATLANTIC MONTHLY, THE NATION and the New York Times Book Review Section, dealing principally with politics and government.

In connection with these articles, there was contained in LIFE Magazine on July 29, 1946, an article entitled, "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." by the Subject. An examination of the article discloses it to be an expose of the international interests and activities of the Communist Party with SCHLESINGER being quoted as stating, "The Communist Party is a small but tightly disciplined group and strives with fanatic zeal to promote the aims of Russia." The article continues, "For better or for worse, the Communist Party of the United States is here to stay. It grew when the USSR was still a gamble; it will grow faster as the gamble pays off and it will persist if repressive legislation forces it underground." Thereafter, SCHLESINGER criticized DIES, RANKIN and the various un-American Activities Committees, who, he stated, believe that everyone who opposes Franco and Jim Crow is a Red.

SCHLESINGER stated that Communist functionaries are the "unquestioning servants of the Soviet Union," and continued, "A real revolutionary party in this country might be a good thing and, if conditions ever are allowed to develop which would make a revolution successful, we deserve to have one. JEFFERSON thought one should come about every twenty years."

BOS. 100-17132

He then stated that the Communist Party, USA, was not a revolutionary party due to the control of an "external power" and that the "Communist influence in the United States immobilizes the U.S. left." The article concluded by indicating that the Communists are looking towards the next depression, and that the way to defeat them is not to pass repressive legislation or return MARTIN DIES to public service, but to prevent the depression and to correct faults and injustices in our present system which make even "freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia." He stated that if conservatives spent more time doing this and less time smearing other people who are trying to do it, as the Communists, they would get much farther in the job of returning the Communist Party to its proper place beside the Buckmanites and the Holy Rollers.

For the purposes of this report, it should be noted that his additional articles in LIFE Magazine, subsequent to the one referred to above, pertained to the Roosevelt family; in FORTUNE, August, 1942, pertained to the conditions in Argentina, and in the ATLANTIC MONTHLY of October, 1946, pertained to the pending national Congressional elections.

The New York Times Book Review Section for June 29, 1947, contains a criticism by the Subject of a recent publication entitled "American Communism," by JAMES ONEAL and G. A. WERNER. In the criticism, SCHLESINGER indicates that the need is for a long and heavily documented history of the Communist Party of the United States and indicates that the work of ONEAL and WERNER does not accomplish that objective. In it he indicates that the book does not provide the answer to the current problem of American liberals and criticizes the Communist servility to Soviet policy, and the Communist hatred for all leftists who retain a reservation or two about Soviet virtue. He indicates that liberals must avoid the temptation of an alliance with either side "right or left" for the triumph of either the right or the left will mean the extinction of liberty.

At the present time SCHLESINGER is residing at Chevy Chase, Maryland and performing research work in connection with a forthcoming publication, "The Age of Roosevelt." From information provided, which will be subsequently identified, it appears that his work at the present time is concerned

BOS. 100-17132

principally with research for this undertaking, and that upon his return and assumption of professorial duties at Harvard University in the Fall of 1947, he will then undertake the actual preparation of the book.

An examination was made of the indices of the BOSTON AMERICAN newspaper, Boston, Massachusetts, which contained numerous references both in their own publication and in other Boston publications, and the following is a composite of the information contained in their files:

The BOSTON GLOBE of January 20, 1947, identified the Subject as the recipient of honors by the Junior United States Chamber of Commerce as one of the Nation's ten outstanding young men. Included with the Subject in receiving these honors, was Congressman JOHN E. KENNEDY, CHARLES BOLTE, of the AVC, JOE LOUIS, etc.

The BOSTON GLOBE on October 11, 1946, reported a statement made by the Subject at the Hotel Kenmore dinner of the Frances Sweeney Committee of the Friends of Democracy, Inc., in which SCHLESINGER criticized both WALLACE and BYRNES and stated, "WALLACE thinks of Russia as a sort of 'brook-farm' community, and BYRNES' approach was that of a 'negative meagerly policy' principally of checking Russia and of doing nothing else." SCHLESINGER was reported to have said, "The Truman administration has all the attributes of a jellyfish without the sting. He indicated that the BYNES' policy was developing unhappy entanglements with people as FRANCO and CHIANG KAI-SHEK and advocated social aid for non-Communists throughout the world and a revival of the liberal movement that give birth to the New Deal.

The BOSTON POST, in an article published on August 4, 1946, in an interview with SCHLESINGER, made reference to his political interests and activities at the present time. SCHLESINGER was reported as stating, "If you read my latest article you know I am no admirer of the Soviet Union, but a war, as some have suggested, would be unthinkable, terrible. Some other way must be found." He advocated no repressive legislation or return of MARTIN DIES to public service, but to prevent the anticipated depression and to correct the faults and injustices of our present system.

BOS. 17132

REPUTATION AND ACTIVITIES

Confidential Informant T-1 advised that he has had occasion to know of the SCHLESINGER family intimately and to come in contact with the Subject on frequent occasions. He describes him as a liberal of the New Deal school and one who has been thoroughly indoctrinated with the ambitions and ideals of the Civil Liberties Union through the work of his father, Professor ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. It was the opinion of the informant that SCHLESINGER was an anti-Communist but one who believes that the answer to the Communist threat to American Democracy is by the strengthening of the Democracy and not by "investigations and witch hunts." He further observed that the Subject is a young man presently only 29 years of age, and his contact with the outside world and its interests has been confined principally to his war work with the Office of War Information and OSS, but believes that he is fundamentally sound in his concept of our American Democracy and would not class him as a Communist or Soviet sympathizer. This informant did indicate, however, that the information previously recorded relating to SCHLESINGER and his views with respect to investigations was such as to preclude any favorable impression insofar as his loyalty inquiries were concerned.

~~Confidential~~ Informant [redacted] advised that he has known of SCHLESINGER for many years but has had only infrequent contact with him. This individual, who is engaged in the literary field, has followed SCHLESINGER's writings very closely and regards him as an anti-Communist. He likened him to a "New Deal Liberal" who is concerned with civil liberties and rights and frequently does not examine into the depths of the Communist infiltration to recognize the values that may come from inquiries and investigations and the necessity for such inquiries and investigations in preserving the structure of our American Government.

b2
b7D

Recently, according to this informant, SCHLESINGER contacted him seeking information with regard to [redacted] of the [redacted] Boston, Massachusetts; the subject of an Internal Security investigation in the Boston Division and presently [redacted] of the [redacted] for Massachusetts. SCHLESINGER was seeking to establish the Communist interests and affiliations of [redacted] apparently for an article that he may be preparing or for his interests in the Americans for Democratic Action with which he is associated at Washington, D.C.

b6
b7C

BOS. 100-17132

[redacted] has previously provided information with respect to the publication of SCHLESINGER's book, "The Age of Jackson," and advised that a reprint of this book at \$1.35 per copy, in lieu of the \$5 per copy regular subscription, was made available to the Book Find Club. There is some question as to the background of the Book Find Club, it being noted that information has been provided indicating that it was founded by [redacted] both of whom have been active in connection with Communist front organizations. However, during recent contact, this informant was unable to provide any additional information with respect to current interests or activities of SCHLESINGER in connection with any Communist organizations or fronts.

b2
b6
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MISCELLANEOUS.

At the present time the Subject and his wife are residing at 4202 Curtis Road, Chevy Chase, Maryland, where he is doing research for his coming book, "The Age of Roosevelt," and according to information is an active member of the American Veterans Committee and the Americans for Democratic Action.

There is no indication from the inquiries and research at Boston, Massachusetts, in connection with the Subject that he has been associated with any Communist or Communist front organizations and the expressions which are contained in this report have been contained in his writings to date.

The files of the [redacted] at Boston, Massachusetts, contain only general background information regarding the Subject indicating that he has a favorable credit record and, further, that he had an additional address at Washington, D.C., of 5353 Broad Branch Road, N.W.

b7D

The records of the Massachusetts State Board of Probation, Boston, Massachusetts, were examined with negative results.

- C L O S E D -

BOS. 100-17132

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANT

T-1

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] who requested his identity be
protected.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director

DATE: September 22, 1947

FROM : Mr. Ladd

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

By letter dated May 21, 1947, the Boston Office advised the Bureau that they had received information from [redacted]

[redacted] of the [redacted] of [redacted] at Weston, Massachusetts, concerning the subject. According to the information received by the Boston Office from [redacted] he attended a dinner earlier in that week given in honor of Dr. George Coleman, founder of the Ford Hall, Boston, Massachusetts. During this dinner, Schlesinger was called upon to deliver a two minute tribute to Dr. Coleman, as were several other persons present at the dinner. During his speech, which the subject stretched into a ten minute oration, he praised the Ford Hall Forum and its founders for their willingness to allow "liberal and progressive speakers" to appear and also ~~an~~ attacked ~~the~~ the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities for their "unwarranted interferences in our democratic way of life."

With reference to the latter point, [redacted] advised, that Schlesinger declared that the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities did not differ either in method of operation or in results. Both organizations, ostensibly dedicated to the preservation of the American way of life, are doing much to destroy this. Their incessant and unwarranted attacks upon persons and organizations have little persuasion.

After the subject sat down, [redacted] inquired of him as to whether or not there are any differences in philosophies of John Edgar Hoover and the Congressman John Rankin. Schlesinger, Jr. informed [redacted] that there were no differences and that, if anything, John Edgar Hoover represented a more destructive force in American public life today than any Fascist who might be named, including Rankin.

In view of the remarks made by the subject at this dinner, the Boston Office was requested to conduct an investigation into the background and activities of the subject. The Boston Office has now submitted a report, and in brief it points out as follows: Schlesinger was born in Columbus, Ohio, on October 15, 1917. He received his A. B. Degree (summa cum laude) at Harvard University in 1938 in History and Literature, and thereafter was awarded the Henry Fellowship for study in England in 1939. He returned to Harvard as a Junior Fellow on February 19, 1942, doing private study and research. He was thereafter associated with the Office of War Information in Washington, D. C., and later on went to Europe with the Office of Strategic Services until 1945. While with the Office of Strategic Services he supervised the preparation of intelligence reports to the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Forces.

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During this time he wrote the historical work, entitled "The Age of Jackson", and for his work in connection with this he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1945. He thereafter, contributed articles to "Life", "Fortune", "Atlantic Monthly", "The Nation", and the "New York Times Book Review Section" on politics and government.

He was a fellowship professor in the History Department at the Harvard University at the age of 28 and at the present time is on leave until the fall of 1947, while he is doing a book entitled, "The Age of Roosevelt", being prepared under a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Schlesinger wrote "The Communist Party, USA" which appeared in the Life magazine for July 29, 1946, in which he exposed the international interests and activities of the Communist Party as "unquestioning servants of the Soviet Union". In his article he stated, "The Communist Party is a small but tightly disciplined group and strives with fanatic zeal to promote the aims of Russia." The article continues and points out, "For better or for worse, the Communist Party of the United States is here to stay. It grew when the USSR was still a gamble; it will grow faster as the gamble pays off and it will persist if repressive legislation forces it underground." At another point in his article, he said, "A real revolutionary party in this country might be a good thing and, if conditions ever are allowed to develop which would make a revolution successful, we deserve to have one. Jefferson thought one should come about every twenty years." At another place he stated that the Communist Party, USA was not a revolutionary party due to the control of an "external power" and that the "Communist influence in the United States immobilizes the United States left." The article concluded by indicating that the Communists are looking towards the next depression, and that the way to defeat them is not to pass repressive legislation or return Martins to public service, but to prevent the depression and to correct faults and injustices in our present system which make even "freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia." He stated that if the conservatives spent more time doing this and less smearing other people who are trying to do it, as the Communists, they would get much further in the job of returning the Communist Party to its proper place beside the Buckmanites and the Holly Rollers.

The Boston Post in an article published on August 4, 1946, in an interview with Schlesinger, made reference to his political interests and activities at the present time. He is reported as having stated, "If you read my latest article you know I am no admirer of the Soviet Union, but a war, as some have suggested, would be unthinkable, terrible. Some other way must be found."

HENRY A. WALLACE

The Boston Globe on October 11, 1946, reported a statement made by the subject at the Hotel Kenmore dinner of the Frances Sweeney Committee of the Friends of Democracy, Incorporated, in which Schlesinger criticized both Byrnes and Wallace and stated, "Wallace thinks of Russia as a sort of 'brook-farm' community, and Byrnes' approach was that of a 'negative meagerly policy' principally of checking Russia and of doing nothing else." Schlesinger was reported to have said, "The Truman administration has all the attributes of a jellyfish without the sting."

2
The Boston Globe of January 20, 1947, identified the subject as the recipient of honors by the Junior United States Chamber of Commerce as one of the Nation's ten outstanding young men. Included with the subject in receiving these honors was Congressman John E. Kennedy, Charles Bolte, of the American Veterans Committee and Joe Louis.

The New York Times Book Review Section for June 29, 1947, contains a criticism by the subject of a recent publication entitled "American Communism", by James O'Neal and G. A. Werner. In the criticism, Schlesinger indicated that the need is for a long and heavily documented history of the Communist Party of the United States and indicates that the work of O'Neal and Werner does not accomplish that objective. In it he indicates that the book does not provide the answer to the current problem of American liberals and criticizes the Communist servility to Soviet policy, and the Communist hatred for all leftists who retain a reservation or two about Soviet virtue. He indicates that liberals must avoid the temptation of an alliance with either side "right or left" for the triumph of either the right or the left will mean the extinction of liberty.

The Boston Office in its report points out that the subject's father is Arthur M. Schlesinger, presently a history professor at Harvard University. The subject's father, the report points out, ~~that he~~ is recorded as being among those individuals who protested the denial of free speech to Earl Browder in 1939, and active in connection with the affairs of the Civil Liberties Union. Furthermore, at one time, he stated his willingness to act as a sponsor for the Young Communist League, on the Harvard University Campus in 1933. Furthermore, Professor Schlesinger, the father, has indicated that he is opposed to subversive activities within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

—Convincing Antidote to Hysteria—

AMERICAN COMMUNISM: A Critical Analysis of Its Origins, Development and Programs. By James O'Neal and G. A. Werner. 416 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5.

By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER Jr.

WE are today in a state of mind concerning communism which verges on hysteria, and the best antidote to hysteria is facts. But resistance to facts about communism is widespread and methodical. It comes, in the main, from two sources: from extreme conservatives, who hope to proscribe all our national impulses toward reform or revolution by smearing them with the taint of foreign and totalitarian loyalties; and from the Communists themselves, who strive to hide these foreign and totalitarian loyalties by pretending a liberalism which purports to differ from one's own only in being more ardent and dedicated.

Thus the extreme Right and the extreme Left are united in obliterating the distinction between a liberal and a Communist—the reactionaries for purposes of attack, the Communists for purposes of defense, both for the essential purpose of promoting the intellectual confusion and moral corruption which each requires for success.

The facts are fatal to this conspiracy against the center, because they expose the fraudulence of the Communists' "liberal" professions. As a result, for all the hysteria in defense of and in opposition to the Communists, neither side can afford to disclose the whole story without destroying some of its own vital pretensions. Neither Martin Dies nor Elizabeth Gurley Flynn seems to want the whole truth to be known; and the testimony of ex-party members is almost as liable to psychosis and hallucination as the testimony of the fervent Communist. What we really need is a long, sober, dull and heavily documented history

of the Communist party in the United States.

The O'Neal-Werner "American Communism: A Critical Analysis of Its Origins, Development and Programs" supplies only part of this need. It is based on a study of American Communism written twenty years ago by the veteran right-wing Socialist James O'Neal, for many years editor of The New Leader. Dr. G. A. Werner, Professor of Russian History at the College of the Pacific in California, in consultation with O'Neal, retained the first eleven chapters, enlarged on O'Neal's last two and added nine of his own. This arrangement must have struck someone as good editorial procedure, but the result is a mixture of tone and style which weakens the impact and impairs the usefulness of the book.

THE first half—which is mostly the O'Neal volume of 1927—is a play-by-play description of the first years of the Socialist and Communist parties in this country. It is detailed, factual, complicated, and presented with a minimum of color or of editorial comment. And it is immensely useful. Here you will find a documented account of the post-war, radical sects, subdividing and multiplying like the amoeba.

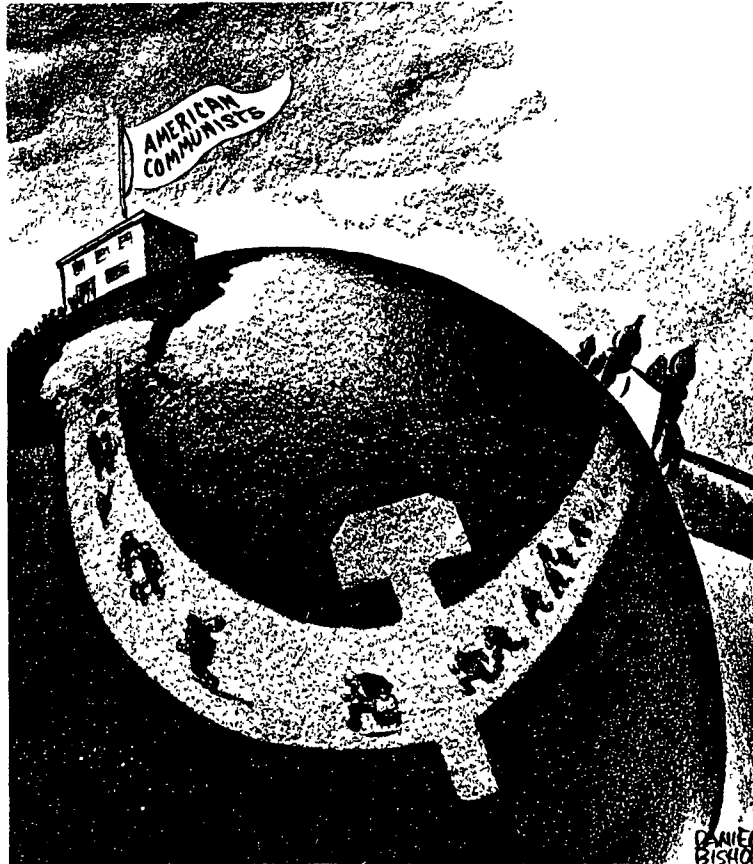
You will find quotations from their manifestoes and from the proceedings of their conventions, stories of the underground phase, of the gradual emergence, under Comintern prodding, of a united and open Communist party, and of the Communist attempt first to capture and then to wreck the La Follette candidacy in 1924—the archetype of Communist "cooperation" with liberal movements. Unfortunately the authors have made little attempt to supplement the material available to O'Neal in 1927 with more recent accounts, as, for example, the autobiography of Benjamin Gitlow. The treatment also loses

both liveliness and some point by its indifference to the personalities involved.

THE second half—Dr. Werner's contribution—abandons the detailed, chronological story just as the Communist party begins to move into the big time. Instead, it provides a series of discursive essays—on Trotskyism, on the youth movement, on the Comintern, on the writer's own post-war hopes—filled with random installments of fact, an abundance of generalization and great gobs of sectarian recrimination. This part of the book misses the opportunity of giving a connected account of the various overturns in leadership or reverses in political line which characterized the CP in the Thirties. Moreover, it is inadequate on the subject of the Communist attempts to penetrate the labor and liberal movements; and it has very little to say on the larger question of the intellectual corruption which came in the wake of the Communist insistence on Soviet infallibility, on party discipline and on a thoroughly demoralizing double-standard in art, writing and politics.

This volume will supply the historian with valuable bibliographical suggestions and dead-end hints. But we still need an exact and comprehensive history of the American Communist party. Such a history need not indulge in alarmist rhetoric: the facts themselves are sufficiently damning, even in their rather disorganized presentation in "American Communism." They document the consistent record of Communist servility before the zigzags of Soviet policy—and of Communist hatred for all leftists who retain a reservation or two about Soviet virtue. They illustrate, to an extent at least, the Communist compulsion to rule or ruin any organization in which they get a foothold—and the

113
New York Times - Book Review
June 29, 1947 - Pg. 3



Daniel Bishop in St. Louis Star-Times.
"Block the Tunnel."

consequent impossibility of a "united front" except on Communist terms. They expose, moreover, the Communist myth of their own indispensability to the American left by showing how little they contributed to the New Deal or to any other serious reform movement in this country.

Liberals presumably have their own positive values and policies and the moral of the Communist story is that liberals should stand by their values and combat *all* who would oppose them. Both reactionaries and Communists today are seeking to destroy the center. Liberals must avoid the temptation of an entangling alliance with either side ~~in a crusade against the other—~~

for the triumph of either extreme will mean the extinction of liberty. And, in the last analysis, the liberal, to be true to himself, must rest his case on hard facts and sober analysis—not on monolithic certitude.

Men of good-will often complain about the failure of conservatives to draw any distinction between progressives and Communists. One cause of that confusion may perhaps be that too many progressives have failed to draw the distinction themselves. With its imperfections and shortcomings, "American Communism" supplies concrete evidence which should dispel a few remaining liberal illusions.



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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: July 2, 1948

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

[redacted] of the Washington Post, called this morning and wanted to see me. I saw him at noon. He outlined that one of his very close friends over a period of time was Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who had worked for OWI and OSS and whom Averill Harriman wanted to take to Paris the middle of June to aid in setting up the information services in connection with the Marshall Plan. He said that Schlesinger could not be cleared by ECA inasmuch as the Bureau was alleged to have reported unfavorably on him. [redacted] stated that he used the words regarding the Bureau being alleged to have reported advisedly because he has found out that a lot of government agencies throw the Bureau's name around in a manner that is not consistent with the truth. He was calling at the Bureau to give testimony on behalf of Schlesinger and to ask if we could not look into the matter since Schlesinger's father had at one time become mixed up with various front organizations. [redacted] further stated that either Averill Harriman or somebody acting for him had contacted the Bureau a few days ago and that the Bureau had submitted some sort of preliminary report. Ra-2

I told [redacted] that we would look into the matter immediately and see what could be done since [redacted] stated that Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has been confused with his father and that conceivably there could be a case of mistaken identity since his father admitted signing various petitions and letters and participating in front organizations in the early '30's.

In checking on the matter, [redacted] informed me of a call he had from [redacted] regarding Schlesinger, whom [redacted] termed as anti-Communist, stating that a friend of Schlesinger's was going to contact me. [redacted] memorandum is attached. In this memorandum [redacted] points out that a record check clearance dated June 11, 1948 had been received from ECA, that the results of the Bureau's record check on this individual were returned on July 1, 1948 and reflected the following:

"An informant of known reliability reported that one Arthur [redacted] Schlesinger had in frequent contact with [redacted] in Washington, D. C. in late 1946 and early 1947. [redacted] was reportedly associated with a number of suspected Soviet agents and Communists. One Arthur Schlesinger reportedly attended a Win-The-Peace Rally March 29, 1946 at Boston, Massachusetts. The Communist Party reportedly made preparations for this meeting through [redacted] a reported Communist. Among the sponsors [redacted] were persons identified as Communists.

cc: Mr. Ladd

60 AUG 18 1948
LBN:hmc

POSSIBLY FATHER

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

"An informant of unknown reliability made available a copy of an 'Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights' which was to be held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27-28, 1946. The summons contained a list of names of the sponsors. The name of Professor A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, appeared on this list of sponsors. ←

"From various sources information has been received that the applicant's father, Professor of History at Harvard University, has been identified as sponsor or committeeman of organizations declared subversive by the Attorney General."

The file reflects that we made an inquiry on Schlesinger in June and July of 1947 after it was reported by [redacted] to an Agent in the Boston Office that Schlesinger had attended a dinner given in honor of Dr. George Coleman, founder of the Ford Hall Forum in Boston, that each guest delivered a two-minute tribute to Dr. Coleman and that Schlesinger broke the rule of the evening by talking ten minutes making two points--namely, praising Ford Hall Forum for their willingness to allow liberal and progressive speakers to appear and, secondly, an attack on the FBI and the Un-American Activities Committee for unwarranted interference with our democratic way of life; and that Schlesinger also stated that there was no difference between the Director and John Rankin, if anything the Director represented a more destructive force in public life today than any Fascist who might be named including Rankin.

In checking with Supervisor [] of the Investigative Division, [] informed me that former Agent [] now in charge of security for ECA, called at the Bureau day before yesterday. He was thoroughly cognizant of Schlesinger's background, the fact that he had authored various anti-Communist articles, such as the article in Life Magazine, etc., and was also familiar with the allegations of []. Mr. Ladd also talked to Mr. [] and arranged to have the form returned that is above quoted in order that it could be rewritten and Schlesinger's anti-Communist writings might be referred to. At that time [] informed Mr. Ladd that G-2's files have Schlesinger listed as a Communist and that [] had informed his superiors that the files of a government agency listed him as a Communist, that he did not say it was the FBI and he assumed that the front office jumped to this conclusion.

Accordingly, I told [redacted] that we had been requested to furnish a name check, that we had furnished certain information, that our information could not have been the cause of Schlesinger's

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

difficulties since it was not forwarded to ECA until July 1 and was not stamped in over there until 11:30 this morning (according to information furnished Mr. Ladd by [redacted]). I further told [redacted] for his personal and confidential information that we had ascertained that the files of another government agency list Schlesinger as a Communist, that he might wish to make inquiries at the War Department. He stated that he knows General Bradley personally and intimately and would check with him.

I also told [redacted] that we would be very happy to talk to Mr. Schlesinger if he so desired. Mr. Schlesinger came by my office. I spent considerable time with him. Schlesinger denied that he had ever been affiliated with any Communist groups even in his younger days. He pointed to his record of published articles as proof of his anti-Communist feelings. He stated that his father frankly had supported and joined various front organizations, that his father now knows better. I asked him whether he had attended a Win-The-Peace rally on March 29, 1946 at Boston. He stated he did not attend such a rally, that he was in Washington at that time, that he left Cambridge in 1942 and he did not return to Cambridge until the summer of 1946. On March 29, 1946, he was residing at 4402 Curtiss Road, Chevy Chase, Maryland. I told him we had information that one Arthur Schlesinger had reportedly attended this meeting. He denied that it was he. He said that he could prove it. He was confident that it could not have been his father as his father had discussed the Win-The-Peace Committee with him and he assumed his father knew better. I asked him if he had permitted his name to be used on a list of sponsors to a "Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights" to be held in Detroit, Michigan April 27-28, 1946. He stated this was not his name but he knew the details of this.

This was his father. He stated that his father did give permission for the use of his name, that a few days after the petition was made [redacted] called his father and told his father that this Congress on Civil Rights was Communistically inspired and dominated, whereupon his father, Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., withdrew his name.

subject was
I asked him if he was acquainted with [redacted] He stated that he was, that he knew [redacted] socially and worked with him at OSS, that he had been questioned about [redacted] by [redacted] at the State Department, that he had told [redacted] that [redacted] inner convictions were those of a fellow traveler but that [redacted] was too cautious, that he placed his own security above his inner convictions and that he understood there was great bitterness on the part of the Communists about [redacted] not doing anything for the cause. I asked Schlesinger if this information came from a source that should know. He stated that he believed he was told this by [redacted] who worked at OSS, who was a fellow traveler and in fact he stated that [redacted] was the only decent fellow traveler he had ever met or come

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

in contact with. He, of course, by saying this did not mean that he was a friend of [redacted]. He stated that he has seen [redacted] once in the last two years at the Harvard Club in New York City, where he attended an OSS reunion dinner; that he, Schlesinger, spoke about the Third Party, the Communist control and domination of the Third Party and the prognostications that Wallace would head the Third Party. I asked Schlesinger if he had any reason he could give or any possible explanation as to why some other government agency might list him as being Communistically inclined. He stated that he could not. He said that he had been questioned by Civil Service when he was in the OWI as a result of the Civil Service Commission confusing his background and record with that of his father. He further stated that on one occasion OSS endeavored to have him commissioned in the navy and on that occasion he was questioned about his political views although they denied the commission on the basis of his eyesight not meeting qualifications. He has always thought the questioning on his political views was the real reason for his not getting the commission.

He further stated that [redacted] of research for the Un-American Activities Committee, can testify as to his anti-Communist views although he does not agree with [redacted] on the operations of the Committee. He further stated that he worked with [redacted] of the State Department on a secret project a year ago, that [redacted] presently is at Lewiston, Maine, telephone Lewiston [redacted] and could testify as to his anti-Communist views.

He then furnished the following individuals whom he knew intimately and who could furnish information on his background:

State Department
State Department
Morris Ernst
[redacted] Harvard University
Bernard DeVoto, 8 Berkley Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts
[redacted]
[redacted] of the history department,
Harvard University
[redacted] Russian history department,
Harvard University
President Conant, Harvard University
President James Finney Baxter, Williams College.
[redacted] Williams College
James B. Reston, New York Times, Washington, D. C.
[redacted] of domestic
operations, ECA.

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

In the course of the conversation I asked Schlesinger if he had attended the dinner for Dr. George X Coleman, founder of the Ford Hall Forum in Boston. He stated he had attended. I asked him if he spoke. He said that he spoke briefly, that he spoke about the necessity of maintaining progressive and liberal ideas, that he denounced the Un-American Activities Committee. I asked him if it was not a fact that he had also denounced the FBI on the basis of its "unwarranted interference with our democratic way of life." He stated that he had never denounced the FBI, that he had confidence in the FBI, that his writings would show that he had referred to the FBI in complimentary terms. I asked if he had made any statements along the lines that J. Edgar Hoover represented a more destructive force in public life today than any Fascist who might be named including John Rankin. Schlesinger stated that he was shocked that anybody would make such a statement as obviously they had or he would not have been asked the question. I told him frankly that it had been stated to us that he had made such a statement. He stated such a statement is not true, that he does not use the term Fascist in this manner but uses it in its correct context, that certainly Mr. Hoover is not more dangerous than Rankin but on the other hand is an antidote to Rankin, that he would like to confront anyone who claimed he made such a statement because he did not make such a statement.

In the course of the conversation he referred to misinformation that is disseminated. He referred to the injustices of left-wingers in criticizing the Bureau. He mentioned the Sacco-Vanzetti case and stated of course he knew the Bureau and the Director had nothing to do with it. He also commented similarly on the A. Mitchell Palmer Red raids. In this connection, I exhibited the letters of the [redacted] to him.

letter Not to
be sent Per
Director
1/8
I have gone over this matter with Mr. Ladd. We have both agreed that the attached letter should be forwarded immediately to [redacted] at ECA. Schlesinger is returning to his home at 109 Irving Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, telephone 47116. Schlesinger asked if he could be given any advice as to what he should do now. I suggested he wait for a few days so that it could be determined if the Bureau has a request to investigate him. He stated that he would like to be investigated, that he has full confidence in the Bureau, that if we are called upon to investigate him if he could be of any assistance in furnishing any information on or off the record, answering any questions, straightening out any possible instances of mistaken identity with his father, that he would appreciate being called upon. I told him we would keep this in mind and if any thoughts occurred I would call him the first of the week.

The form which was originally sent over to the ECA and which is dated June 11, 1948, carrying the stamp that it was received

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson

at 11:30 a.m., July 2, is attached with Mr. Ladd's memorandum.
I am also attaching a brief statement which [redacted]
left with me.

Attachment

*Handed
separately*
He also said He broke
with little Brown + Co
because [redacted]
was a left winger

van V.

*See that prompt
investigation is made.
H.*

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 04-08-2008
CLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC BAW/RS/VCF
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
04-08-2033

Arthur SCHLESINGER, Jr.

During war - worked in

OWI (well known to [redacted])

b6
b7C

93505

b1

(S)

Politically - always anti-Communist. Has attacked Communism publicly ever since he started to write articles for publication (1940 on). So far as is known, was never associated with any front organization. Possible source of confusion with father, who is equally anti-Communist but may have signed things in thirties.

American

In June 46 wrote article on The/Communist Party for LIFE Magazine. First of many articles urging that liberals resist Communism. Active in organizing ABA, anti-Communist liberal organization. Repeatedly attacked in Communist press -- e.g., in May number of POLITICAL AFFAIRS (official theoretical organ), in June number of MASSES AND MAINSTREAM (literary monthly).

In summer 47 did a top secret job for State Department in analyzing possible Communist tendencies in Voice of America broadcasts. Well known to [redacted] to [redacted] (top investigative agent), to [redacted] (anti-Communist expert).

b6
b7C

TIME IS OF ESSENCE. Schlesinger supposed to be in Paris June 15. Business is in formative stages. Must be back at Harvard Sept 25.

~~SECRET~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: January 11, 1949

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(REFER 5-IS)Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Gurnea.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Mr. Pennington.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. is an Associate Professor of History at Harvard College; the local head of the Americans for Democratic Action; and was the subject of an extensive European Recovery Program Applicant investigation conducted in June and July, 1948. Full information concerning SCHLESINGER, JR. was set forth in the Boston report of Special Agent [redacted] in the latter case. Confidential Informant [redacted] has furnished the following information of interest in view of SCHLESINGER's writings concerning Communism, which are published in the New York Times and Life Magazine.

For many years and from the time of the first edition, the Little Brown Publishing Co. in Boston has published and distributed the "Fanny Farmer Boston Cooking School Cookbook." This item, in the trade, is regarded as a very stable one. The present [redacted] is a certain [redacted]. The terms of the contract are not the usual ones and the owner of the copyright, who is [redacted] is free to take the book to another publishing house with little or no prior notification. The 14th or 15th edition has only recently come off the press.

Prior to publication of the last edition, the President of Little Brown Co. advised Informant that [redacted] had been contacted by SCHLESINGER, Jr. SCHLESINGER, Jr. had informed her that [redacted] of Little Brown Publishing Co., [redacted] was a member of the CP. He suggested that it was a grave violation of New England tradition to have the cookbook published by a firm which employed Communists. (It is noted that [redacted] is subject of a pending S-C investigation in the Boston Office.) SCHLESINGER, JR. suggested that the book be transferred by [redacted] to Houghton-Mifflin Co., another publishing firm with which SCHLESINGER is now associated as an author. [redacted] had gone to the President of Little Brown Co. to make further inquiry regarding [redacted] affiliations. It appeared to the President that she was about to leave his firm and he requested the Informant to attempt to pacify [redacted].

[redacted] contacted [redacted] and informed her that no one at Little Brown Co. knew that [redacted] was a member of the CP; that he had, in fact,

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RECORDED - 3
INDEXED - 3

100-34848-8

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b7C

denied such membership to the firm President; that as a gentleman it was necessary to accept his word until proof positive to the contrary was received. Informant suggested that [] ask SCHLESINGER, JR. to prove his allegations. b6 b7C

Subsequently, [] recontacted [] and made the following report: She asked SCHLESINGER, JR. to prove his statement and the latter had replied: b2 b6 b7C b7D

1. The FBI had an extensive file on []
2. That when in Washington last summer he, SCHLESINGER, had been permitted to review this file at the Seat of Government. b6 b7C
3. The Bureau file contains no positive information that [] is a Party member or has been, but it does disclose that his conduct has been such that a conclusion of Party membership is warranted.
4. That he, SCHLESINGER, had knowledge of [] Party affiliation but his source was such that he could not disclose it, and since he could not disclose his source he could not describe the information furnished by said source.

[] told [] that she informed SCHLESINGER: b2 b6 b7C b7D

1. He was inferring that he had reviewed privileged government documents which inference he could not substantiate.
2. He was declaring that he had more information concerning Communist activities than the FBI.
3. That he had not as a loyal American furnished such information to the Bureau.
4. That he was engaged in those techniques condemned by himself, i.e. alleging facts which he would not substantiate, on the alleged grounds his sources were privileged and could not be divulged.
5. That he was attempting to bolster the latter with an inference that Bureau records would support his personal contention.

Accordingly, [] has decided not to sever her publishing affiliations. b6 b7C

The foregoing is furnished the Bureau for informative purposes, and it is noted that SCHLESINGER is not above making irresponsible statements.

BSG:HLL
100-17132
C.C. 100-16372

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd *Dr. L.*

FROM : Mr. Rosen *R*

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: February 8, 1949

CONFIDENTIALb2
b6
b7C
b7D

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

[redacted] informant of the Boston Division [redacted] recently obtained some interesting information concerning Arthur Meier Schlesinger, from [redacted] who publishes and distributes a cook book through the facilities of the Little Brown Co.

[redacted] advised the informant that in an effort to induce her to transfer the publication of [redacted] from the Little Brown Co. to the Houghton-Mifflin Co., with which he is associated as an author, Schlesinger told [redacted] that [redacted] of the Little Brown Co. is a Communist. When [redacted] asked Schlesinger how he knew this, he answered with the assertion that the FBI had an extensive file on [redacted] and that he had been permitted to see it while in Washington in the summer of 1948.

You will recall that we investigated Schlesinger for the Economic Cooperation Administration in July 1948. He is the rather well known author who wrote an "expose" of Communism and Communist tactics in July, 1946. His father, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Sr., Professor of History at Harvard has been associated with several communist fronts in the past.

You will also recall that during the course of our investigation of Schlesinger, he appeared at the Bureau and was interviewed by Mr. Nichols after Mr. Morris Ernst and [redacted] of the Washington Post had vouched for his character and loyalty. Mr. Nichols states that as far as he knows, Schlesinger saw no Bureau files.

ACTION:

None. This is merely furnished for your information as an illustration of the fact that Schlesinger is not above making irresponsible statements.

CLASSIFIED BY 2040
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

3/18/77

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RECORDED - 108

INDEXED - 108

AMD:MMW

4 FEB 10 1949

EX-76

CONFIDENTIAL

3 FEB 23 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-28-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Room 5744 11-10 1949

TO: ✓ Director
_____ Mr. Ladd
_____ Mr. Clegg
_____ Mr. Glavin
_____ Mr. Harbo
_____ Mr. Nichols
_____ Mr. Rosen
_____ Mr. Tracy
_____ Mr. Fletcher
_____ Mr. Mohr
_____ Mr. Carlson
_____ Mr. Nease
_____ Miss Gandy
_____ Personnel Files Section
_____ Records Section
_____ Mrs. Skillman

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

See Me For Appropriate Action

Send File Note and Return

Clyde Tolson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 09-28-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

Office *L**m* • UNITED S

VERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson
FROM : L. B. Nichols
SUBJECT:

DATE: November 9, 1948

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____ b6
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____ b7C
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____ b7D
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

With reference to the attached letter from Boston transmitting a memorandum prepared by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., recounting a visit he had from Joseph Starobin, and the information that Schlesinger furnished to [redacted] that he was advising us so that he would not be compromised with the FBI, I frankly don't like the tone of this.

I would like to suggest that we return the memorandum to the Boston Office, after making copies, and tell the Agent in Charge to return it to Schlesinger with the statement that we did not like the implications and the connotations of his crack that he was sending the memorandum so that he would not be compromised by a visit from Starobin; that we are not concerned with him in any way, shape or form and that if it became important to check on him we would ascertain the facts at that time; that he should have known by the treatment extended him last summer when he was under consideration by ECA as to the Bureau's methods of operation.

G. I. R.

LBN:hmc

I don't agree - RECORDED - 140

I suggest no action

INDEXED - 140

EX-3

11-10

ENCLOSURE

100-348485- b6 b7C

ENCLOSURE

I agree

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

DATE:

10-28-49

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY BRIEF
INTERNAL SECURITY (C)

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓

DECLASSIFIED BY

ON

10/15/84

8972 TDK/mg
#205,723

all unclassified except where noted.

Under date of October 26, 1949 ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., Department of History, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, made available to the Boston Office a carbon copy of a report dated October 23, 1949, which SCHLESINGER JR. has described as "a memoranda concerning a visit I received on Sunday from Mr. JOSEPH STAROBIN of the Daily Worker." SCHLESINGER, Jr., points out that he made this "memoranda" available to the Boston Office at the suggestion of [redacted] known to the Bureau as [redacted] and further identified as [redacted]

[redacted] reports that SCHLESINGER, Jr.'s action regarding this "memoranda" was motivated by the possibility that STAROBIN had been surveilled to SCHLESINGER Jr.'s home by the FBI, which, in SCHLESINGER Jr.'s opinion, might have compromised him with the FBI.

In his memorandum of October 23, 1949 as the enclosed copy of this memorandum shows, STAROBIN expressed to SCHLESINGER, JR. his concern at the difficulties the Communist Party would have "in operating with its most active leaders in prison," and he stated that he (Starobin) sought help from anti-Communists in attempting to get bail for the Communist leaders.

SCHLESINGER, JR. stated that he attempted to ascertain STAROBIN's attitude towards "the defection of fellow travelers like Ziliacus, Jo Davidson, Gailmor, etc." As SCHLESINGER, Jr.'s memorandum states, STAROBIN's reply was to the effect that STAROBIN thought "these defections were unimportant. Most Communist Parties were holding firm, Tito was an inevitable phenomenon in a transition period, etc; as for Gailmor and the others they were a group of cowards who were searching for an excuse to join the anti-Soviet crusade and now at last has found one."

The carbon copy of the report concerning STAROBIN's visit to SCHLESINGER, which the latter himself furnished to the Boston Office is being maintained in the files of the Boston Office.

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CONFIDENTIAL

RWD:md

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cc 100-18993

100-17132

100-17494

100-17097

cc New York

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DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

3/18/77

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RECORDED - 140

ENCLOSURE

EX-31

12 NOV 14 1949

Handwritten notes and signatures at bottom right.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF 75/108-111

RECORDED & FILED IN

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Y

October 23, 1949

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

At 10:45 AM on Sunday, October 23, I received a phone call. The person at the other end identified himself as JOSEPH STAROBIN of the Daily Worker and asked whether he could come and talk to me about the Communist trial. I was acquainted with STAROBIN's name because of his attacks on me in the Daily Worker. I said he could come at noon.

STAROBIN arrived shortly after noon and stayed for about three quarters of an hour. We discussed the trial part of the time; and Titoism the rest of the time. He had nothing of much interest to say beyond the usual CP guff, except on these points:

1. The object of his visit, it developed, was to ask me to do something to help get bail for the Communist leaders. He said he had been visiting a number of anti-Communists for this purpose. He betrayed real anxiety over the difficulties the Party would have in operating with its most active leaders in prison. Evidently the conviction does represent in a real sense a decapitation of the Party. I told him that I agreed with the ADA statement attacking the denial of bail; and that I expected that the Court of Appeals would reverse Judge Medina in this respect. I added that I did not see that any action on my part was called for, reminding him of the Communist indifference to the Trotskyites convicted under the Smith Act. He said that he thought the Party had made a mistake in its attitude toward the Trotskyites.

2. He was very bitter on the subject of Governor Lehman, because of the Lehman telegram of congratulations to McGohey and because of Lehman's other anti-Communist actions. He said he expected that Lehman would be defeated because 500,000 New York voters would not forgive him for his anti-Communism; their failure to vote would constitute his margin of defeat. I gathered that the CP has probably given instructions to cut Lehman on election day.

3. I switched the conversation to Tito in order to find out his reaction to the defection of fellow-travelers like Ziliacus, Jo Davidson, Gailmor, etc., was. He said he thought these defections were unimportant; most Communist Parties were holding firm; Tito was an inevitable phenomenon in a transition period, etc.; as for Gailmor and the others, they were a group of cowards who had been searching for an excuse to join the anti-Soviet crusade and now at last had found one.

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R 132 AUG 16 1962

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 10/15/89

#205, 723

100-30844-70

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Fletcher _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

Schlesinger To Speak at Book Event

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, has been added to the list of speakers for The Washington Post Book and Author Luncheon Tuesday, November 8, at the Statler Hotel.

Schlesinger is the author of "The Age of Jackson" and his latest work is "The Vital Center." Currently teaching



at Harvard, Schlesinger is working on a new book, "The Age of Roosevelt."

Originally scheduled to appear on the program, Schlesinger canceled his engagement because he expected to be in Europe at the time of the luncheon. A change of plans, however, makes it possible for him to be present.

Tickets for the luncheon are \$3 and are available at the following book stores: Airport, Ballantyne's, Brentano's and branches, Community, Kann's, Francis Scott Key, David Pearlman, Paul Pearlman, Pursell's, Savile, Woodward & Lothrop, Whyte's and, in Alexandria, Better Mouse Trap and Chequire House.

Handwritten initials and signature

G.I.R.-7

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post 1

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

Date: _____

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NOT RECORDED
78 NOV 14 1949

66 NOV 15 1949



U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Chicago 90 Illinois
March 6, 1950

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE No. _____



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI

Dear Sir:

Arthur Schlessinger

There is attached a clipping from the Chicago Daily Sun Times of March 5, 1950, which contains a criticism of the Bureau. I thought you would like to have this brought to your personal attention.

Very truly yours,

G. R. McSwain

G. R. MC SWAIN
SAC

Enc.

GRM:MNW

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DATE 2/7/94 BY 9803 RDD/gft

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JUN 27 1950

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PERS. FILES

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EX-3

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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Week in History

By Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

The crucial agency in the proper solution of the problem, of course, is the FBI. There are two things the American people must expect of the FBI: That it be efficient and that it do as little to violate the ways of freedom as is consistent with national security.

How well have the American people been served? The question of the FBI's efficiency, especially on political questions, is an open one. Certainly we know now a great deal of Communist espionage went on in Washington in the '30s under the nose of the FBI.

There were political obstacles to FBI activity in this field; yet one would think that an efficient federal police would not be so entirely dependent upon the information provided them by ex-Communists after the fact.

My own experience with the FBI, which cleared up with intelligence and dispatch ludicrous charges made against me by one of the service security arms, has been entirely satisfactory. Yet friends of mine, like Bernard De Voto, have had quite a different experience with FBI agents, as De Voto told with biting effect a few months ago in Harper's.

Are FBI methods democratic? Here public misgivings have been growing; and some of these misgivings were stated with great force in a recent speech by Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chairman of the ADA executive committee.

Rauh, who always has been a militant anti-Communist, there bluntly summarized doubts which have risen in many minds concerning FBI methods: The increasing use of wire tapping; the effect to cover up wire tapping by other illegal acts, as revealed in the Coplon case; and, most serious of all, the attempt to impugn the motives of anyone who dares to criticize the FBI.

No government agency is above criticism; and, if any government agency should regard the play of public criticism as essential to the democratic discharge of its duties, it is the FBI.

A central police agency is compatible with democracy only when its operations support political and intellectual freedom, not when they intimidate or repress it.

I am sure J. Edgar Hoover's old boss and sponsor, Harlan F. Stone, would tell him the current FBI mood of neurotic sensitivity to criticism is not conducive to the democratic functioning of a police system.

The Communists are against the FBI, but that does not make everyone who raises questions about the FBI a Communist; and, when the FBI gets to believing that all its critics are Soviet agents, then its usefulness in serving a democracy is over.

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DATE 2/7/94 BY 983/PPD/g/c
344231

Sounds like De Voto
wrote it. No one takes
exception to criticism
which is factual. Certainly
[redacted] is last one to throw
bricks when he was an
admitted pipe-line to the
Uptown Daily Worker. H.

CHICAGO DAILY SUN—TIMES
MAR 5 1950

RECORDED - 93

93 ENCLOSURE

100-348485-11

JUN 13 1950

12

EX-3

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: July 21, 1950

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.;
Information Concerning

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Egan	✓
Mr. Gurnea	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Pennington	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Holmes	✓

PURPOSE:

Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. - Summary
7/21/50
8/5/52

To summarize information in Bureau files on Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., who is author of the article captioned "Made Them Turn Red?" in the August 1, 1950, issue of "Look." The article is anti-Communist, quotes public statements of the Director concerning CP membership strength, encourages public reporting of security matters to the FBI and suggests more public tolerance toward the principals in CP defection.

BACKGROUND SUMMARY:

Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., age 32, is an author, history professor at Harvard University and a national officer of both the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union. He, in May, 1947, (according to [redacted] told [redacted] the Director "represents a more destructive force in public life today than any Fascist who might be named, including Rankin." Schlesinger, Jr. on July 2, 1948, denied to you he made such a statement, adding he had confidence in the FBI.

[redacted] when reinterviewed the first part of July, 1948, could offer nothing additional and, in fact, his then recollections of what Schlesinger said did not include the above statement he previously attributed to Schlesinger. (124-530-14) No other witnesses to the alleged statement were ever interviewed. [redacted] however, said he was loyal to the U.S.

Under the European Recovery Program (124-530) we investigated Schlesinger, Jr., thoroughly in July, 1948. No one alleged he is or was a Communist or a sympathizer at that time. He was described by most as a violently anti-Communist liberal. Morris Ernst gave him an unqualified recommendation. Angela Calomiris, however, said he was known to be liberal throughout the Roosevelt era and, like so many other liberals, was pro-Soviet. Since World War II, he has become increasingly aware of Communist tactics and strategy including front organizations, and has actively written against all phases of them through various maneuvers.

RECORDED - 39

INDEXED-45

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

Investigation reflected Schlesinger is not above making irresponsible statements.

Teaching associates, references and informants characterized him as a "New Deal Liberal," anti-Communist, extremely learned, understandable, a leader for freedom of expression and opposed to "investigations and witchhunts." They, however, believed him to be loyal to the United States.

In the March 5, 1950, column "History of the Week," authored by him in the (New York) Post and Home News he wrote a manifestly unfair and distorted account of the FBI's stewardship. Associates and activities set forth. He listed Bernard DeVoto as a reference in his Economic Cooperation Administration application.

Our investigation developed that Schlesinger, Sr., was identified with several Communist front organizations. Schlesinger, Jr., admitted this to you. Morris Ernst says Schlesinger, Sr., is not a Communist, but that his activities in defending "civil rights" involved him in several Communist front groups.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.:

Author, born Columbus, Ohio, 10-15-17, son of Arthur M. and Elizabeth (Bancroft) Schlesinger; attended Phillips-Exeter Academy, New Hampshire, graduated 1933; traveled around world 1933-1934; attended Harvard University 1934-1938, A.B. Degree, summa cum laude; awarded Henry fellowship for study at Cambridge University in England; member Society of Fellows 1939-1942; married [redacted] of the late Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Dean of the Harvard University Medical School, who was reportedly associated with many Communist Party front organizations. [redacted]

[redacted] Office of Strategic Service 1943-1945; served U. S. Army 1945; Associate Professor of History at Harvard University since 1946; author of two books, numerous articles and book reviews of historical and political nature; received several awards including Pulitzer Prize for History, 1945, for his book entitled "The Age of Jackson;" author of "The United States Communist Party" in "Life" magazine, 7-29-46, an anti-Communist article which elicited severe criticism from the Communist Party; has contributed to "Life," "Fortune," "Atlantic Monthly," "The Nation," "Partisan Review," and "New York Times Book Review" on politics and government.

The Washington Post of 7-30-48 reported he had been "cleared" for Economic Cooperation Administration employment and was named Special Assistant to roving Ambassador Harriman, to specialize in research for

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

a few months before returning to Harvard. (124-530-44,47)

Current Address: Home, 109 Irving Street, Cambridge, and office, Widener Library, Cambridge, both Massachusetts; former residence Cambridge until 1942; Washington, D. C., 1942-1944; overseas 1944-1945; Chevy Chase 1946-1947; since then, Cambridge.

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

A great amount of derogatory information appears on "Arthur Schlesinger" or "Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger." Some can be definitely imputed to Schlesinger, Sr.; much of it, because identifying data is lacking, cannot without further investigation be imputed to either Junior or Senior Schlesinger. It would appear, however, that Schlesinger, Sr., and not Schlesinger, Jr., has belonged to many organizations declared subversive by the Attorney General.

BUREAU CONTACTS WITH SCHLESINGER, JR.:

[redacted] of the Washington Post, told Mr. Nichols on 7-2-48 that W. Averell Harriman, Economic Cooperation Administration, wanted Schlesinger, Jr., to assist him in [redacted] 1948, but that Schlesinger could not be "cleared." [redacted] suspected, he said, a "mix-up" in identity between Junior and Senior Schlesinger. Actually this is believed to have happened inasmuch as G-2 files apparently had Schlesinger, Jr., listed as a Communist or sympathizer. Economic Cooperation Administration requested a record check clearance of Schlesinger, Jr., on June 11, 1948. This check was made and a preliminary report sent to ECA on July 1, 1948. Schlesinger, Jr., however, is alleged to have complained he understood the FBI had found derogatory information on him and for this reason his trip to Europe was held up.

Schlesinger, Jr., came to the Bureau on July 2, 1948, talked with you and denied affiliation with Communist groups pointing to his writings as proof of anti-Communist feelings. He stated his father had belonged to and supported various front organizations but that his father now knew better. Schlesinger, Jr., denied attending meetings of Communist fronts and further denied criticism of the FBI and the Director at the dinner given in honor of Dr. George Coleman, founder of Ford Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, the week of May 21, 1947. He admitted attending this meeting, denouncing the House Un-American Activities Committee, and stated he spoke concerning the necessity of maintaining progressive and liberal ideas. He said that Mr. Hoover is not more dangerous than Rankin but on the other hand is an antidote to Rankin.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

(The Boston Office had reported that [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] had said Schlesinger, Jr., when called upon to deliver a two minute tribute to Dr. Coleman, talked for ten minutes and attacked the FBI and HCUA for their "unwarranted interference in our democratic way of life." [redacted] quoted Schlesinger, Jr., as declaring the FBI and HCUA did not differ in operation or results. Schlesinger, Jr., after sitting down, told [redacted] said the latter, that Mr. Hoover "represented a more destructive force in American public life today than any Fascist who might be named, including Rankin." (100-348485-4) Schlesinger, Jr., told Mr. Nichols he was "shocked" that anybody could make such a statement about him.)

When reinterviewed in July, 1948, [redacted] could remember no more and had no clear recollection of the last reference (above) to the Director. (124-530-14) Since he attended the dinner as a friend of Dr. Coleman, he knew no one present other than Dr. Coleman. It was deemed inadvisable to interview Dr. Coleman.

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Boston Office memorandum of 1-11-49, reports that Schlesinger, Jr., contacted [redacted] of Little Brown & Company to protest that another [redacted] is a Communist and that his retention as [redacted] for the book company violated New England tradition. He claimed that [redacted] (who actually was being investigated by the Bureau as an Internal Security - C matter) was the subject of an extensive FBI file which Schlesinger said he had been permitted to review in the summer of 1948. (100-348485-8, 9)

On October 26, 1949, Schlesinger, Jr., voluntarily appeared at the Boston Office to provide a memorandum reporting a visit paid to him on 10-23-49 by Joseph Starobin of the Daily Worker. He said Starobin discussed difficulties encountered by the Communist Party as result of conviction of the eleven leaders in New York and made an appeal for financial help. Starobin said he was contacting other anti-Communists for the same reason. Schlesinger, Jr., said he told Starobin he agreed with the ADA statement attacking denial of the bail for the eleven leaders and also claimed he refused aid to Starobin reminding him that the Communists were indifferent to the Trotskyites convicted under the Smith Act. Starobin replied the Communist Party had erred in its attitude toward the Trotskyites. (100-348485-10)

Our last contact with Schlesinger, Jr., came about as a result of a column captioned "History of the Week" appearing in the Post and Home News, New York, on 3-5-50. In this column, Schlesinger, Jr., questioned the FBI's efficiency stating "we now know that a great deal of Communist espionage went on in Washington in the thirties under the nose of the FBI." He criticized FBI use of informants. He asked,

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

"Are FBI methods democratic?" and said public misgivings have been growing and were stated with "great force" in a speech by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, Executive Committee. He inferred that political and intellectual freedoms are intimidated by the FBI. In a nut shell, Schlesinger, Jr.'s column was a manifestly unfair attack on the FBI and you in a letter dated March 15, 1950, told him so and why. There is no record of a reply by Schlesinger, Jr., to your letter (62-51536-7)

ACTIVITIES:

And this all happened after Nick saw him. H.
A thorough review of files reflects that Schlesinger, Jr., has on various occasions appeared at functions to speak on behalf of maintaining civil rights, denouncing the various House Un-American Activities Committees. No attempt is made herein to set forth in detail or to analyze his many writings which continue to pour forth.

From May 12 to 14, 1950, Schlesinger, Jr., was listed as attending the InterAmerican Conference for Democracy and Liberty at Havana, Cuba, along with other U. S. delegates, including Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin and several U. S. Congressmen. The conference adopted a declaration repudiating Communism and criticized specifically certain Communists and rightist publications, and attacked Latin American dictatorships. (109-442)

On 5-3-50, the Boston Office reported concerning the William Walter Remington case, stating that [redacted] had been contacted by [redacted]. She said she was with the Boston Herald and was associated with subject Schlesinger in the ADA, and she wanted information regarding Remington's Communist Party activities. [redacted] said she and Schlesinger thought Remington had "taken in" his attorney [redacted] (121-6159-355; 100-24628-1480)

On 4-18-50, the New York Office reported that Schlesinger, Jr.'s [redacted] of Dr. Walter Cannon, a Harvard professor who had been listed as associated with many Communist Party front organizations. (100-24628-1062)

On 3-30-50, the Department requested Bureau investigation of the Committee on Germany of Common Cause, along with [redacted]. The case is pending as a Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act matter, on the basis of a report that the Committee is interested in the question of dismantling German industrial facilities. One Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., was listed as a member of the Committee.

(97-2985-8)

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

On 2-10-50, Army Intelligence reported officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, including Schlesinger, Jr., as a member of the National Committee, along with [redacted] et al. (61-190-339)

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In the New York Post for February 7, 1950, William Duffy in an article exposing the Jefferson School of Social Sciences, said that an instructor, labor editor of the Daily Worker, criticized Schlesinger, Jr., and others deemed as dangerous Social Democrats. (100-227027-A)

Schlesinger, Jr., has received literary awards and praise for such recent works as "The Age of Jackson" and "The Vital Center." This last book dealt with the future of the Non-Communist Left and the necessity for divorcing itself from Communist influence. This book was severely criticized in the Daily Worker for December 6, 1949, which described Schlesinger, Jr., as a self-styled "theoretician of the Non-Communist Left." (100-354634) Current Biography for 1946 quotes Bernard DeVoto as commenting on Schlesinger's book "The Age of Jackson" with the prediction it would create a new school. ✓

In the Washington Times-Herald for November 22, 1949, Westbrook Pegler quoted Schlesinger, Jr., as saying the U. S. Government was a welfare state from inception and Alexander Hamilton was the first to develop the general principle in our Government. The same newspaper for 10-30-49 lists Schlesinger, Jr., as a member of the National Board of ADA. (100-348196-A)

On November 8, 1949, Schlesinger, Jr., appeared at a Washington, D. C., journalism luncheon along with four other "famous authors," including Merle Miller, who wrote "The Sure Thing" which was definitely uncomplimentary to the Bureau. (124-530-A; Washington Post, November 9, 1949)

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On August 30, 1949, a Bureau Agent interviewed [redacted] regarding a report that Schlesinger, Jr., had visited him prior to appearance to give testimony. [redacted] doubted that Schlesinger, Jr., had any independent knowledge of activity of Alger Hiss and [redacted] characterized Schlesinger, Jr., as an opportunist. (74-1333-3932)

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A Boston Office report dated 5-12-49, concerning one [redacted] subject of an Internal Security - C case, stated that [redacted] told another individual that the Communist Party should do nothing about a speech which Schlesinger was scheduled to deliver before the ADA, since additional publicity would only be focused on the meeting. (100-183717-8)

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

Schlesinger, Jr.'s name appeared as a signature to a letter to President Truman dated 12-28-48, also bearing the names of [redacted] Eleanor Roosevelt and others, expressing concern for civil liberties and urging the President to continue his Civil Rights program. This letter was observed by a confidential informant on 1-3-49, in mimeograph form in a building housing Communist Party headquarters in New York City. (62-82915-48)

The New York Times for December 6, 1948, announced that Arthur Schlesinger, Matthew Woll, Norman Thomas and other members of the Workers Defense League were serving on a special commission to hold hearings regarding enforced labor of peoples in the United States and other countries including those doing slave labor in the USSR. (100-5557-A)

On 9-28-48, the Boston Office reported information concerning proposed anti-Communist legislation before the Massachusetts legislature which was criticized by Schlesinger in an ADA meeting as "a form of thought control and will not catch real Communists." (100-3-70-526)

ASSOCIATES:

An informant of known reliability reported that Arthur [redacted] Schlesinger were in frequent contact with [redacted] in Washington, D. C., in late 1946 and early 1947. [redacted] was reportedly associated with a number of suspected Soviet Agents and Communists. (124-530-2) Schlesinger, Jr., advised you 7-2-48 he was acquainted with [redacted] socially, worked with him at OSS and believed the Communists felt [redacted] was not "doing anything for the cause." This information, he said, came to him from [redacted] OSS employee and a person described by Schlesinger, Jr., as a "fellow traveler." (100-348485-7)

Schlesinger, Jr., was reported as one of three [redacted] of [redacted] (subject of a Bureau loyalty investigation but retained by the employing agency as of 3-25-49) while these individuals were serving in OSS. The Bureau's investigation showed [redacted] was affiliated with a number of subversive organizations. (121-13019-8)

Schlesinger, Jr., is well known to, and investigation revealed well regarded by the following individuals: Bernard DeVoto; [redacted] Harvard University; James B. Reston. New York Times; [redacted] formerly of OWI; Morris Ernst; [redacted] State Department, and many other prominent men in public life.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

July 21, 1950

COMMENT ON WRITINGS:

In his article, "The United States Communist Party," in the July 29, 1946, issue of the Life Magazine, Schlesinger said this about the Bureau: "While the espionage threat cannot be shrugged off, it cannot be solved by witch hunts or un-American committees. It can safely be left to the competent hands of the FBI." (100-3-A-Life Mag.)

Westbrook Pegler in his column in the "Journal American" wrote that Schlesinger's article in "Life" impressed him as "inadequate and, for whatever reason, deceptive." (100-28165-285)(Clipping not dated.)

Milton Howard writing in the July 30 and August 1, 1946, issues of the "Daily Worker" attacks Schlesinger for his article in "Life Magazine." (100-3-A & 100-7660-3960)

In the September 11, 1946, issue of the "Daily Worker", Samuel Sillen denounces Schlesinger for distorting Marxism. (61-4478-A)

John Stuart in the August 20, 1946, issue of the "New Masses" severely criticized Schlesinger for stating that Communists are disloyal. (100-3-4-4350)

The National Board of the Independent Citizens Committee for Arts, Sciences and Professions passed a resolution censuring "Life" for publishing an untruth in the article written by Schlesinger. (100-33892-81)

In its Weekly Intelligence Summary of August 8, 1946, the New York Division reported that the appearance of Schlesinger's article in "Life" caused considerable consternation at Communist Party Headquarters. (100-3-4-5326)

In a letter to her husband dated August 10, 1946, Mary Jane Keeney, of the Gregory Case, in writing to her husband about the "Life Magazine" article, said "Schlesinger, the author is very young - 28 - and according to our denomination is considerable of a b- despite his brilliance and scholarship." (101-467-35)

A technical surveillance on the CIO Maritime Committee, Washington, D. C., disclosed that on July 29, 1946, [redacted] who was working with the Committee and who is a known contact of several of the subjects in the [redacted] of the Treasury Department, agreed that Schlesinger was a neurotic. (100-203268-1199)

Writings of Schlesinger, Jr., seemed to reflect, in connection with subversive elements in government service, that he is naive regarding propensities of these individuals to infiltrate the government. He seems to ignore, or be ignorant of, practical problems facing the government from a security standpoint.

*This fellow is a stinker & it is outrageous that
mag. included our chart in Schlesinger's article.*

ADDENDUM

August 5, 1952

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

The June-July, 1950, issue of the publication, "Turning Point," which was published by the P.R. Club, of the Communist Party (expelled), attacked Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. for his stand on the atom bomb. They accused him of being a "timid liberal" and stated that America had "reached such a low point that even our 'liberal' columnists justify the use of the atom bomb by saying: it does not matter what kills you - the important thing is to stop the war. This is true enough but it is also a hypocritical cloak for cowards who are afraid to support the Stockholm pledge."
(100-356870-10)

The June 26, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker contained a story concerning the forty-first annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This story took exception with the NAACP's resolution initiating a "Red-hunt against Communists and progressives." The story stated that a speaker at the NAACP conference "was the cold war ideologist, Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr." (61-3176-A)

On August 18, 1950, Mr. Belmont noted in a memorandum to Mr. Ladd that a full field loyalty investigation should be initiated in the case of [redacted] Department of State. It was noted in this memorandum that [redacted] a Harvard University professor, was a close associate of [redacted] and [redacted] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. It was further stated that [redacted] advised that he had been informed that [redacted] was a Communist Party member. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was known to him as a pro-Communist in 1945.

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It is to be noted that the recommendation that a full field investigation be initiated on [redacted] was approved. (121-23527-2)

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On August 25, 1950, the Boston Office advised that they were considering Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. as an individual who might be contacted by a third party, having no connection with the Bureau, for the purpose of developing information with respect to Communist activities. The use of Schlesinger for such a purpose was negated by the Bureau on October 6, 1950.

The Boston Office noted in the information they set forth regarding Schlesinger that on May 26, 1948, an item appeared in the student publication of Harvard University, "The Harvard Crimson,"

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.
Addendum

August 5, 1952

that Schlesinger, Jr. had aligned himself with a group of 46 members of the Harvard University faculty in urging the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Anti-Communist Bill. These faculty members asserted that, while the bill appeared aimed at restricting the activities of Communists, "its vague and loose phraseology would threaten the expression of liberal and progressive thought."

The Boston letter further stated that on April 26, 1950, the Office Naval Intelligence, First Naval District, Boston, Massachusetts, made available information with respect to the distribution of a circular at Harvard University entitled "The Case of the Legless Veteran - James Kutcher." The circular indicated that a committee had been formed at Harvard in order to dramatize the civil rights aspect of the Kutcher case, it being noted that Kutcher had reportedly been deprived of his Government position as a result of a loyalty investigation under Executive Order 9835. Among the individuals at Harvard associating themselves with the Kutcher civil rights committee was Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

The Boston letter also noted that the Boston Herald in its April 28, 1950, issue carried a letter to the editor from Schlesinger, Jr. He criticized Senator McCarthy for his reckless charges against the Department of State. (66-2542-3-5-892)

The October 4, 1950, edition of the Washington Times-Herald carried an editorial entitled "Alibis for Our Reds." This editorial stated that, the August 1, 1950, issue of "Look" printed a long article by Schlesinger, Jr., "who specializes in explaining away the Roosevelt failures." Schlesinger sought to answer the question: "What made them turn Red?" meaning such men as Alger Hiss." The editorial went on by stating that, "Schlesinger insisted that he himself "never accepted the myths about the Soviet Union, but he has great sympathy for the Hiss crowd. They were high minded and idealistic, and when the depression came they lost their faith in capitalism, he says."

The Times-Herald wrote that "Schlesinger's article failed to point out that Hiss and several other Communists on the New Deal payroll were attorneys, well trained in the history and philosophy of the law. They certainly knew that the first ethical rule of the legal profession is loyalty to a client." (100-348485-13)

On October 17, 1950, the Boston Office advised that Schlesinger, Jr. had prepared a pamphlet entitled "What About Communism?" In a memorandum to the Director dated October 27, 1950, Mr. Ladd set forth a review of this pamphlet.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.
Addendum

August 5, 1952

Mr. Ladd's memorandum stated that Schlesinger refrained from making any specific recommendations regarding the menace of Communism except for a comment that the elimination of poverty, racial prejudice, and other forms of injustice would help to reduce the potency of international Communism. Schlesinger stated in his pamphlet that "open Communist influence and activity" has "dwindled into negligibility." (100-348485-14 and 16)

On March 8, 1951, the Washington Field Office in a report on the William Remington investigation stated that [redacted] of U. S. News and World Report, had been contacted pursuant to Bureau instructions. At the time of this contact [redacted] turned over a copy of a letter written him from [redacted] on November 1, 1950, by [redacted] [redacted] stated that in September, 1950, Schlesinger, Jr. looked him up [redacted] [redacted] said that Schlesinger brought up the subject of William Remington, stating that he was acquainted with [redacted] who was [redacted] [redacted] stated that Schlesinger asked if he [redacted] would be willing to make a [redacted] for the Remington defense, which deposition might testify as to [redacted] acquaintance with [redacted] [redacted] stated that Schlesinger said that he represented no one. At the time of their conversation [redacted] told Schlesinger that Remington had testified in 1948 that he did not know whether [redacted] was a Communist or not, but he thought he was. [redacted] wrote that Schlesinger seemed surprised and shocked to learn of that statement by Remington. (74-1379-1911, page 182)

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. reviewed Alan Barth's book, "The Loyalty of Free Men," in the January 21, 1951, issue of the Washington Post. This review was generally favorable. Schlesinger stated, "On the specific question of the loyalty check, he (Barth) seems to feel that the present system is worse than useless and would favor instead the use in government of the 'tested methods of personnel selection in common use throughout private industry.' ... Certainly, even if the abandonment of the loyalty program were administratively wise at this point it would not be politically feasible." (94-39583-5)

On May 2, 1951, the St. Louis Office reported on the results of an interview with [redacted] During the course of the interview [redacted] disclosed the identities of the Communists with whom he was acquainted and the story of his affiliation with the Communist movement. [redacted] at the time of the interview, was working on [redacted], which was to be published by Little Brown and Company of Boston. [redacted] stated that the publication of his book was arranged by his friend Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (100-227719-40)

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.
Addendum

August 5, 1952

On November 30, 1951, the Boston Office advised that Mayor John B. Hynes of Boston exhibited a letter he had received from Schlesinger, Jr. dated November 19, 1951. This letter was critical of the Mayor's action in introducing [redacted] who spoke at a Communion breakfast in Boston. (62-93875-681)

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The Daily Compass of October 11, 1951, printed the column of I. F. Stone which stated that in the spring of 1951, Cambridge City Councilman John D. Lynch introduced a resolution "asking for a purge of the alleged Reds on the faculty of the two (Harvard and MIT) famous local institutions of learning." Among the 50 suspected Reds whom Lynch listed on the Harvard faculty alone were its distinguished president, James B. Conant, and Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (100-365248-A)

The Daily Compass on March 25, 1952, carried an article captioned "The Liberal McCarthy - Schlesinger, Jr.'s Smear" by Ted O. Thackrey. This article attacked Schlesinger for his "smearing" criticism of the Smith Act and those who oppose America's seeking military alliance with the governments of Spain, West Germany and Formosa. The main basis of this article was Schlesinger's opposition to the sentiment for Justice William O. Douglas as the Democratic candidate for President. (62-87763-A)

CONTACTS WITH THE BUREAU:

On February 6, 1951, Schlesinger, Jr. wrote you regarding his contact with [redacted] regarding the Remington case. Schlesinger desired that the circumstances of his visit with [redacted] be made a matter of record in the Bureau. Schlesinger stated that [redacted] felt that Remington had probably been falsely accused. Schlesinger wrote that his regard for the judgment of these two men prompted him to adopt their views. Schlesinger said that he visited [redacted] on the behest of [redacted] Schlesinger stated that "the facts that have since been brought out in the course of the trial now leave me thoroughly baffled." (100-348485-17)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10-02-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

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Office Memorandum

• UNITED

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.

DATE: August 5, 1952

Tolson _____

Ladd _____

Clegg _____

Glavin _____

Nichols _____

Rosen _____

Tracy _____

Harbo _____

Alden _____

Belmont _____

Laughlin _____

Mohr _____

Tele. Room _____

Nease _____

Gandy _____

Attached is a summary memorandum on Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., dated July 21, 1950. In accordance with your request of this date, an addendum to this memorandum has been prepared. This addendum containing salient information on the captioned individual from June 1, 1950, to date begins on page 9.

It is to be noted that on page 8 of the memorandum of July 21, 1950, the Director commented, "This fellow is a stinker and it is outrageous that Look Magazine included our chart in Schlesinger's article. H." The original memorandum was prepared following an article written by Schlesinger entitled "What Made Them Turn Red?" that appeared in the August 1, 1950, issue of "Look."

Attachment

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Alibis for Our Reds

It is always fun to watch the fights between the Roosevelt idolaters and the ex-idolaters of Roosevelt. The latest of these squabbles took place in the pages of Look.

In its Aug. 1 issue, Look printed a long article by Arthur Schlesinger jr., a Harvard historian who specializes in explaining away the Roosevelt failures. Schlesinger sought to answer the question: "What made them turn Red?" meaning such men as Alger Hiss.

Schlesinger insists that he himself "never accepted the myths about the Soviet Union," but he has great sympathy for the Hiss crowd. They were high minded and idealistic, and when the depression came they lost their faith in capitalism, he says.

He goes on to argue that "if men of knowledge and experience like Lincoln Steffens and William C. Bullitt had so glowing a faith in the Soviet Union, it should surprise no one that many young men, tossed and buffeted by the depression, should follow their lead."

Mr. Bullitt, who was President Roosevelt's first ambassador to Russia, replies to this in a letter to the editor of Look, printed in the issue dated Oct. 10.

Bullitt Writing with cold fury, Mr. Bullitt answers Schlesinger point by point, closing with the following indictment:

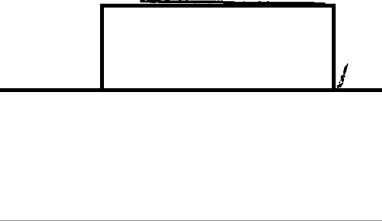
Replies "I do not know Mr. Arthur Schlesinger jr. His article is clearly an attempt to whitewash various Soviet agents by use of my good name. I feel sure that you must have been tricked into the use of your good name for this purpose."

Mr. Bullitt might have said a good deal more. Schlesinger's article failed to point out that Hiss and several other Communists on the New Deal pay roll were attorneys, well trained in the history and philosophy of law. They certainly knew that the first ethical rule of the legal profession is loyalty to a client.

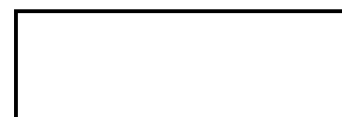
Yet these men, on the pay roll of the United States government, had no scruples about selling out that government. They betrayed their profession, their employer, and their fellow countrymen.

Mr. Schlesinger's description of them is "high minded and idealistic" . . . "men of good will." Anyone who puts out guff like that must be hard up for arguments.

Tolson ☒
Ladd ☒
Clegg ☒
Glavin ☒
Nichols ☒
Rosen ☒
Tracy ☒
Harbo ☒
Belmont ☒
Mohr ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Nease ☒
Gandy ☒



Gullent



63

Page

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star _____

N.Y. Mirror _____

N.Y. Compass _____

Date: _____

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 17 1950

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

WASHINGTON 8 AND NEW YORK 4 FROM BOSTON

10-17-50

1-45 PM EST

DIRECTOR AND SAC,..... U R G E N T

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR. INFORMATION CONCERNING. SCHLESINGER,
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
HAS PREPARED PAMPHLET ENTITLED QUOTE WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM, UNQUOTE,
PUBLISHED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, TWENTYTWO EAST THIRTY EIGHTH
STREET, NYC. INFO INDICATES PAMPHLET TRACES HISTORY OF COMMUNIST MOVE-
MENT, INDICATING THAT COMMUNIST INFLUENCE HAS QUOTE DWINDLED INTO NEGLIGE
BILITY UNQUOTE IN THE U.S. SINCE NINETEEN FORTY FIVE. SCHLESINGER REPORT
EDLY WROTE THAT ONE-TIME MEMBERSHIP IN THE CP SHOULD NOT BECOME A LIFE
TIME BLOT ON AN INDIVIDUAL. NEW YORK REQUESTED TO OBTAIN COPIES OF THIS
PAMPHLET FOR SUBMISSION TO THE BUREAU AND TO THIS OFFICE.

COPIES DESTROYED

R 182 AUG 16 1962
THORNTON

END

ACK IN ORDER PLS

WA BS R 8 WA JAK

NY BS R4 NYN GAF

DISC

RECORDED - 45

INDEXED - 45

100-348485-14
OCT 20 1950

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Copies come
in by 10/13/50

100-3-86-1016
5-011

CC:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-02-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

Office Memorandum

n • UNIT

GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI.

DATE: 10/24/50

FROM : SAC, New York.

SUBJECT: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.,
INFORMATION CONCERNING.

Retel Boston 10/17/50.

Transmitted herewith to the Boston Office are three copies of
~~"WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM"~~ written by the captioned individual and
published by Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th Street, New
York City. Copies of this publication have been forwarded to the
Bureau.

cc: Boston (3 Encls.)

RECORDED - 129
INDEXED - 129JTM:DJG
100-81675

100-348485-15

OCT 25 1950

25

52 OCT 31 1950

The Director

October 27, 1950

D. M. Ladd

PAMPHLET: "WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM?"
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Bureau file 100-3-86-1026-7

PURPOSE:

To acquaint you with a new anti-Communist pamphlet entitled "What About Communism?" which has been written by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Associate Professor of History, Harvard University.

The pamphlet emphasizes that American Communists are a serious problem to a free society and presents the pro and con of various widely publicized methods of coping with them. Schlesinger carefully refrains from making any specific recommendations--except for a comment that the elimination of poverty, racial prejudice, and other forms of injustice would help to reduce the potency of international Communism. He feels, for reasons stated below, that "open Communist influence" has "dwindled into negligibility"; that "open Communist activity" has declined. A copy of the pamphlet is attached.

BACKGROUND:

The above pamphlet devotes considerable attention to the historical aspects of Communism. In addition, the author makes such statements as these:

Communism and Fascism are "similar in the relation they create between the all-powerful state, secret police, and the single party on the one hand, and the powerless individual on the other."

"As thorough-going as Nazi Germany, Communist Russia has been equally successful in the destruction of cultural freedom."

"The one consistent factor in all the twists and turns of the international Communist line has remained, of course, the interests of the Soviet Union. Whatever the idealism of individual Communists, the practical effect of the world Communist movement is that of a tool--and, next to the Red Army, the most powerful tool--of the Soviet foreign policy."

Attachment
AED: dew

59 JAN 27 1951
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JAN 18 1951

A "variety of motives brought people into the Party. Every attempt at strike-breaking, every race riot, every lynching was likely to increase Party membership. But the significant thing was the tremendous overturn within the American Communist Party. Few Americans could endure for very long the tense and unreal life of the Party member. After they had a taste of the centralization, the fanaticism, the overriding loyalty to the interests of a foreign power, they got out. That is why one-time membership in the Communist Party, especially if it happened before 1939, should not be regarded as a life-time disqualification. It was rather those who survived every new direction of the Party line, who obeyed every new caprice of Party discipline, who accepted the Party's claim to rule every aspect of their lives, to dictate their religion, their science and their art as well as their politics--it was this hard core of fanatics which made up the serious part of the Communist movement in America."

It is the central and habitual dishonesty--the belief that the end justifies the means--which have in great part created the Communist problem."

When discussing the various widely publicized approaches to the solution of the Communist problem, Schlesinger makes these remarks concerning the question of outlawing the Communist Party:

He points out that some people argue that the interests of internal security and the preservation of freedom require that the Communist Party be outlawed.

He states that other "equally patriotic Americans, including President Truman, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, have opposed this proposal. They have opposed it in part because such action, short of a situation of genuine national emergency, would be contrary to the American tradition of civil freedom. They have opposed it in part also on practical grounds. When the Communist Party of Canada was outlawed, its leaders, after a due interval, set up a new party, called it the "Labor Progressive Party" and set it to doing business at the same old stand. The opponents of the illegalization of the Communist Party argue that such action has little effect unless accompanied by an arrest of the party's leaders and active members. Otherwise all that is outlawed is a name; and, at the same time, the Communists are provided with an issue tailor made to win them the sympathy of many Americans who see no national emergency justifying so sharp a contraction of political freedom". (Page 28).

Schlesinger attributes the decline of "open Communist influence" and "open Communist activity" to the following factors:

The policy of "revolutionary extremism" i.e. Communist advocacy of force and violence.

Communist sponsorship of the Progressive Party.

Communist endorsement of Soviet Foreign Policy without challenge.

The rise to power of the anti-Communist forces in the CIO.

The formation of Americans for Democratic Action, as an outlet for liberals who believe in a "non-Communist left."

It should be noted that in stating the above views regarding the decline of Communism, Schlesinger carefully distinguishes between "open" operations and underground activities.

He does not express an opinion concerning the extent and the strength of the underground movement.

RECOMMENDATION:

The above is for your information.

February 20, 1951

93507

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Department of History
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-22-87 BY SP1/aj/

Dear Mr. Schlesinger:

RECORDED - 115 348485-17
I wish to acknowledge your communication of
February 6. What you had to say was interesting, and
we will be very glad to make this a matter of record
in our files.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

L. B. Nichols

EX-37
LBN:md

COMM - FBI

FEB 24 1951

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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RECEIVED

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

February 6, 1951

93508

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Since [redacted] in the current Remington case, recently [redacted] that I had come to see him [redacted] to talk about the case, I thought I had better place the circumstances of my visit on record.

I do not know Remington, have never seen him and know very little about him or the case. I first heard of him in the summer of 1948, when the accusations were first made against him. At that time I was working for ECA [redacted] and [redacted] for whom Remington had worked in the Commerce Department, observed to me (as he later stated in a deposition) that Remington had been, if anything, excessively tough on the Soviet Union in Commerce. Later, after I returned to the United States, I learned that my old and close friend Mr. [redacted] had undertaken to [redacted] the Loyalty Review Board. [redacted] is a man in whose probity and patriotism I have entire confidence, and whose generosity of spirit has long commanded my warm regard. He has been a stalwart and consistent anti-Communist as long as I have known him; and he would not knowingly represent a Communist or an ex-Communist in such a case as this. The combined reactions of [redacted] led me to suppose that Remington had been probably falsely accused. This feeling was strengthened when Remington won his case before the Loyalty Board. (The facts that have since been brought out in the course of the trial now leave me thoroughly baffled.)

When I left for Europe last summer, [redacted] asked me whether I would look up [redacted] and find out his attitude toward Remington, and especially his willingness to testify in court to the story about [redacted] which he had already told to the House committee. This I was glad to do as a favor for an old friend who has done many favors for me. I had one talk with [redacted] and later saw him briefly at a USIS cocktail party. [redacted] told me the same story about his relations with [redacted] that he had told the House Committee. When I inquired whether he would testify to this, he said that he did not know; it would depend on the circumstances. He also expressed to me his quite natural irritation over Remington's denunciation of him. All this I communicated to [redacted] That is my entire connection with [redacted] and Remington.

In view of your kindness to me in the past, I am taking the liberty of sending this letter along to you.

EX-37

Sincerely yours, [redacted]

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-27-88 BY SP-8 BJS/STP

ack'd
2-18-51
[initials]

MAR 3 1951

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 10-02-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

Office M

UNIT

ERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols
FROM : M. A. Jones
SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.

DATE: August 29, 1952

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Alden _____
Belmont _____
Laughlin _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

Attached is a blind memorandum concerning
the captioned individual.

Attachment

JTM:afk

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-348485-17X

MAR 25 1953

CRIME RESEARCH

APR 15 1953

August 29, 1952

MEMORANDUM

Re: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR. - Summary

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., was born in Columbus, Ohio, on October 15, 1917, and is the son of Arthur Meier and Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger. He attended Phillips-Exeter Academy in New Hampshire and was graduated in 1933. After traveling around the world, he entered Harvard University in 1934, and was graduated summa cum laude with an A. B. Degree in 1938.

Following his graduation from Harvard, he received the Henry fellowship for study at Cambridge University in England, where he was a member of the Society of Fellows from 1939 to 1942.

He married [redacted] and they have four children. [redacted] of the late Dr. Walter B. Cannon, former Dean of the Harvard University Medical School.

Schlesinger was employed by the Office of War Information in 1942 and 1943 and was associated with the Office of Strategic Services from 1943 to 1945. He served in the U. S. Army in 1945. He has been Associate Professor of History at Harvard University since 1946.

He won the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1945, for his book entitled, "The Age of Jackson." Schlesinger has also written numerous articles of a political or historical nature.

Schlesinger is active in the Americans for Democratic Action and the Civil Liberties Union.

His current address is 109 Irving Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and his office address is the Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PERTINENT INFORMATION:

In his article, "The United States Communist Party," in the July 29, 1946, issue of the Life Magazine, Schlesinger said: "While the espionage threat cannot be shrugged off, it cannot be solved by witch hunts or un-American committees."

Milton Howard writing in the July 30 and August 1, 1946, issues of the Daily Worker attacked Schlesinger for his article in Life Magazine.

John Stuart in the August 20, 1946, issue of the New Masses severely criticized Schlesinger for stating that Communists are disloyal.

100-346485-177

In the September 11, 1946, issue of the Daily Worker, Samuel Sillen denounced Schlesinger for distorting Marxism.

On May 21, 1947, a dinner was given in Boston, Massachusetts, in honor of Dr. George Coleman, founder of Ford Hall, Boston. Schlesinger spoke at that meeting and denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition to his attack against that committee, he made reference to the FBI's "unwarranted interference in our Democratic way of life."

On May 26, 1948, an item appeared in the student publication of Harvard University, "The Harvard Crimson," that Schlesinger, Jr., had aligned himself with a group of 46 members of the Harvard University faculty in urging the defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Anti-Communist Bill. These faculty members asserted that, while the bill appeared aimed at restricting the activities of Communists, "its vague and loose phraseology would threaten the expression of liberal and progressive thought."

The Washington Post of July 30, 1948, reported he had been "cleared" for Economic Cooperation Administration employment and was named Special Assistant to roving Ambassador Harriman, to specialize in research for a few months before returning to Harvard.

The New York Times for December 6, 1948, announced that Arthur Schlesinger, Matthew Woll, Norman Thomas and other members of the Workers Defense League were serving on a special commission to hold hearings regarding enforced labor of peoples in the United States and other countries including those doing slave labor in the USSR.

Schlesinger, while serving in the OSS, roomed with a man named [redacted] who has been affiliated with a number of subversive organizations.

On October 23, 1949, Joseph Starobin, a writer employed by the Daily Worker, visited Schlesinger. Starobin made an appeal for financial help for the Communist Party which had encountered financial difficulties following the conviction of their eleven leaders in New York. It was reported that Schlesinger was in agreement with the statement made by the ADA attacking the denial of bail for the eleven Communist leaders, but Schlesinger denied aid to Starobin, reminding him that the Communists were indifferent to the Trotskyites convicted under the Smith Act of 1940.

In the Washington Times-Herald for November 22, 1949, Westbrook Pegler quoted Schlesinger, Jr., as saying the U. S. Government was a welfare state from inception and Alexander Hamilton was the first to develop this general principle in our Government. The same newspaper for October 30, 1949, lists Schlesinger, Jr., as a member of the National Board of ADA.

"The Vital Center," his last book, dealt with the future of the "non-Communist left" and the necessity for divorcing itself from Communist influence. This book was severely criticized in the Daily Worker for December 6, 1949, which described Schlesinger, Jr., as a self-styled "theoretician of the non-Communist left." Current Biography for 1946 quotes Bernard DeVoto as commenting on Schlesinger's book "The Age of Jackson" with the prediction it would create a new school.

In the New York Post for February 7, 1950, William Duffy in an article exposing the Jefferson School of Social Sciences, said that an instructor, labor editor of the Daily Worker, criticized Schlesinger, Jr., and others deemed as dangerous Social Democrats.

The April 5, 1950, edition of the New York Post and Home News carried a column by Schlesinger which questioned the efficiency of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Schlesinger stated "We now know that a great deal of Communist espionage went on in Washington in the 30's under the nose of the FBI." Schlesinger asked "Are FBI methods Democratic?" and said public misgivings have been growing and were stated with "great force" in a speech made by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, Executive Committee. Schlesinger wrote that political and intellectual freedoms are intimidated by the FBI.

It was ascertained in the Spring of 1950 that Schlesinger's

[redacted] the late Dr. Walter B. Cannon, formerly Dean of the Harvard University Medical School, was a member of many Communist Party front organizations.

The June 26, 1950, issue of the Daily Worker contained a story concerning the forty-first annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This story took exception with the NAACP's resolution initiating a "Red-hunt against Communists and progressives." The story stated that a speaker at the NAACP conference "Was the cold war ideologist, Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr."

Schlesinger is the [redacted] was with the Division of [redacted] in 1950. [redacted] a Harvard University Professor, was a close associate of [redacted] has publicly stated that [redacted] was reported to him to be a Communist. [redacted] denied it under oath before the McCarron Committee in March, 1952. On August 15, 1952, according to a Washington City News Service wire, the State Department announced that [redacted] had been issued a passport to go to Japan and that a year before the Army had denied him a travel permit after [redacted] testified publicly that he knew [redacted] as a Communist.

The October 4, 1950, edition of the Washington Times-Herald carried an editorial entitled "Alibis for Our Reds." This editorial stated that the August 1, 1950, issue of Look printed a long article by Schlesinger, Jr., "who specializes in explaining away the Roosevelt failures. Schlesinger sought to answer the question: 'What made them turn Red?' meaning such men as Alger Hiss." The editorial went on by stating that Schlesinger insisted that he himself "never accepted the myths about the Soviet Union," but he has great sympathy for the Hiss crowd. They were high-minded and idealistic, and when the depression came they lost their faith in capitalism, he says."

The Times-Herald wrote that "Schlesinger's article failed to point out that Hiss and several other Communists on the New Deal payroll were attorneys, well trained in the history and philosophy of the law. They certainly knew that the first ethical rule of the legal profession is loyalty to a client."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., reviewed Alan Barth's book, "The Loyalty of Free Men," in the January 21, 1951, issue of the Washington Post. This review was generally favorable. Schlesinger stated, "On the specific question of the loyalty check, he (Barth) seems to feel that the present system is worse than useless and would favor instead the use in government of the 'tested methods of personnel selection in common use throughout private industry.'... Certainly, even if the abandonment of the loyalty program were administratively wise at this point it would not be politically feasible."

In the fall of 1950, Schlesinger personally contacted one [redacted] and asked [redacted] if he would be willing to make a deposition for the William Remington defense. ([redacted] subsequently testified in the Remington case.) Schlesinger told [redacted] that he did not represent anyone but was closely acquainted with [redacted] who had been Remington's [redacted] for a time. [redacted] mentioned to Schlesinger that Remington had testified in 1948 that he did not know whether [redacted] was a Communist but

thought he was. [] was discharged by U. S. News and World Report as their [] correspondent subsequent to [] in the Remington case. [] has testified that in 1942 she recruited [] into her espionage network at the suggestion of Remington. [] (in May 1950) before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was published with [] as a defense witness in the Remington case indicates he was the person intended in [] testimony.

The Daily Compass of October 11, 1951, printed a column by I. F. Stone which stated that in the Spring of 1951, Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Councilman John D. Lynch introduced a resolution asking for "a purge of the alleged Reds on the faculty of the two (Harvard and MIT) famous local institutions of learning." Among the fifty suspected Reds whom Lynch listed on the Harvard faculty alone was Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., according to Stone.

In the Fall of 1951, Louis Budenz spoke at a Communion breakfast in Boston, Massachusetts. This appearance elicited a protest from Schlesinger, which protest was centered about the introduction of Budenz by a prominent civic official.

The Daily Compass on March 25, 1952, carried an article captioned "The Liberal McCarthy - Schlesinger, Jr.'s Smear" by Ted O. Thackrey. This article attacked Schlesinger for his "smearing" criticism of the Smith Act and those who oppose America's seeking military alliance with the governments of Spain, West Germany and Formosa. The main basis of this article was Schlesinger's opposition to the sentiment for Justice William O. Douglas as the Democratic candidate for President.

March 15, 1950

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Post Home News
75 West Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schlesinger:

You will recall a few years ago we had the pleasure of a rather lengthy visit with you after you had encountered some difficulties as a result of a statement appearing in the files of one government agency (not the FBI). At that time, we were very happy to do everything we could to straighten the matter out and I am sure it was straightened out. I mention this as merely background in this personal communication which is not intended for publication.

You have made certain observations in the New York Post Home News of March 5, 1950, pertaining to the FBI and its Director. I do think in all fairness that you gave a rather erroneous impression to your readers and I wanted to mention a few facts which I hope you will give some consideration to if the question arises in the future.

You stated that the question of the FBI's efficiency was open to question because "we know now that a great deal of Communist espionage went on in Washington in the thirties under the nose of the FBI." You do not say, however, that it was not until September of 1939 that we were given a directive by the President to operate in this field and even then the Bureau's work in connection with investigations involving members of the German-American Bund, Fascists and others met with a great deal of opposition. In fact there was a widespread movement on in the spring of 1940 which if it had succeeded would have very effectively clipped the Bureau and prevented it from carrying on its functions solely because Mr. Hoover was forthright enough to tell the Appropriations Committee that we were checking on persons potentially dangerous to the country, which it was then stated was a menace to civil rights. Ten years have now elapsed. Our record speaks for itself with regard to the absence of enemy espionage during the war.

Your observation that an efficient federal police would not be dependent on ex-Communists after the fact does not stand up under examination. We, of course, in many instances have known the facts but mere knowledge is not sufficient and to enable facts to be presented before the courts legal evidence was necessary. Even in bank robbery cases it is necessary to delve into the underworld for information and it is just as necessary to delve into the Communist ranks.

100-34445-17X
ENCLOSURE

You then go into "Are FBI methods democratic?" The mere fact that you base your statements upon a recent speech by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. does not make the Rauh statements correct or your observations correct. The FBI has made no effort to "cover up wire-tapping by other illegal acts." We have always been very forthright and have not concealed the fact that wire-tapping is used by this Bureau. After all, we have a fairly good legal basis for this in that two individuals on the Supreme Court, one on the Court of Appeals, a former Court of Appeals Judge and the present Attorney General, who was a former Solicitor General, contend that the manner in which the FBI uses this device does not conflict with the Federal Communications Act.

Likewise, I do not know what facts you base your statement upon that "the current FBI mood of neurotic sensitivity to criticism is not conducive to the democratic functioning of a police system." We have always welcomed constructive criticism. We have never, to my knowledge, stated that the FBI should not be criticised. We have, like fair minded persons, resented unfair criticisms or criticisms from inspired sources having an axe to grind. I know of no one in the Bureau who has ever entertained the thought that all the FBI's critics are Soviet Agents as you so dogmatically stated. If you know of any one who has complaints against the FBI, I am sure the Director would be glad to be advised so he in turn could straighten them out.

I thought particularly your inference that the political and intellectual freedoms are intimidated by the FBI was most uncalled for and certainly not supported by facts because the FBI is not concerned with political opinion nor what a man thinks but what a man does. I think that in the field of applicant investigations alone that your experience with us should be convincing. Should you have any questions concerning the FBI or any doubt, I would welcome the opportunity of sitting down with you and discussing them.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ L. B. Nichols



History of The Week

—By Arthur Schlesinger Jr.—

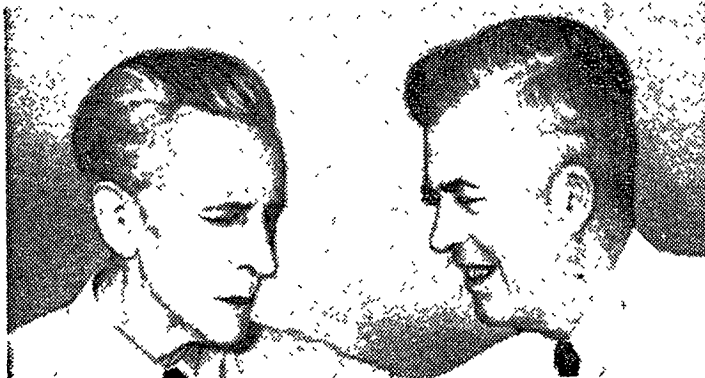
(Noted historian and author of "The Age of Jackson" and "The Vital Center.")

You will find in the correspondence columns today a letter from James Imbrie, a leader of the Progressive Party of New Jersey. Since several other correspondents made much the same points, if in varying tones of indigation, it may be well to spend a moment in contemplation of the Imbrie argument.

Two weeks ago I noted the circulation of a letter purporting to rally liberals in defense of civil liberties. The signers of the letter, I pointed out, were well known for their belief that liberals could work with Communists; and I questioned whether people who showed no horror or repugnance at Communism could have a very serious devotion to civil freedom. No decent liberal, I suggested, would have anything to do with their projects.

Mr. Imbrie, as I make out his letter, offers three main points: (1) that the Progressive Party is independent and has been proved right by events; (2) that hatred of Communism is a threat to democracy; and (3) that military force has little to do with winning the world conflict.

Let us examine these points. As for the first, Mr. Imbrie maintains that he himself, both publicly and privately, has always been a "bitter" critic of Soviet Communism. If that is so, then Mr. Imbrie has no more place in the Progressive Party than an



Associated Press Photo

James Imbrie and Henry Wallace at Progressive Party picnic July 18, 1948. Imbrie was candidate for U. S. Senate.

[Inveterate drunkard has in the Prohibition Party. I have never heard Mr. Imbrie, publicly or privately; but I defy him to produce an instance of where his Progressive Party has ever been critical of Soviet Communism.

G.I.R.-5

INDEXED 111 67-13079

TITLE

CLASS *National Security - c*

FROM *Chief*

DATE SEP 16 1951

FORWARDED BY N. Y. O.

63 OCT 2 1951

It has not been, and it cannot be; for it was set up by the Communist Party as a front organization to run interference in the U. S. for Soviet foreign policy. I suppose that Mr. Imbrie will dismiss this statement as another vicious innuendo. But let me quote a newspaperman whom he certainly does not regard as a fascist beast—that is, I. F. Stone. "The Communists have been the dominant influence in The Progressive Party," Stone wrote on February 28, 1950. He added: "If it had not been for the Communists, there would have been no Progressive Party, and if they are ever purged, the Progressive Party will disappear."

The only political meaning of the Progressive Party is the belief that a united front with Communism is possible. How anyone can maintain that belief in face of the events of the past five years is beyond any comprehension. The graves of Eastern Europe are filled with Imbries who supported local versions of Progressive Parties until the Communists could take the countries over and then rub out the dupes who had done so much of their dirty work for them. Cooperation with Stalinists is possible only on Stalinist terms. If American liberals do not know that by now, they know nothing.

As for the notion that the Progressive Party has been proven right by events, it has clearly been proven staggeringly wrong in its analysis of the overriding event of our time—the nature of Soviet Communism. As soon as they had discovered how wrong they were, the decent leaders of the Progressive Party—Henry Wallace, John Rogge, Rex Tugwell—got out of it.

Mr. Imbrie's notion that hatred of Communism is a threat to democracy is part and parcel of his general belief in the united front. Of course, I hate Communism, as I hate fascism—as I hate any form of society dedicated to the extermination of individual freedom. If you believe in human dignity, how can you not hate a political fanaticism which has restored slavery on a scale unknown in modern history?

Does military power have a role to play? Writing from Lawrenceville, N. J., Mr. Imbrie can be very complacent in sneering at military strength. If he lived in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, he might feel a little different. It is hard to know what to say to people who, dwelling in the relative security of this continent, would piously condemn the men and women of free Europe to the kind mercies of Stalin. Or does Mr. Imbrie really think that Stalin would not invade Yugoslavia tomorrow if he would only count on the United States to follow the pro-Soviet policies of the Progressive Party?

George Orwell put it concisely: freedom's traitors, he said, were those who tried to be anti-fascist without being anti-totalitarian. The Progressive Party is a last shabby monument to this particular form of dangerous idiocy in our own land. The quickest liberals reject unconditionally this whole lingering nostalgia for a united front, the sooner we will have a secure and sane democracy, not alone in this country, but in the world.

State Dept. has on its rolls 37 card-carrying Communists, along with untold numbers of fellow travelers. Thus far only one name has been revealed as an example of what Sen. McCarthy regards as a Communist sympathizer. This is David Lloyd of the White House, who has been an active anti-Communist for years and was indeed at one time legislative representative for the anti-Communist liberal organization, Americans for Democratic Action. If McCarthy's information is no better than this, his only success will be in making the country forget the name of Sen. Hickenlooper.

Thus, on the one hand, a real problem; on the other, an overwrought and feverish response, which only aids the extremes of Communism and reaction. How does a free people undertake the measures to protect its security? Two answers are clear. It does not solve the problem by wildly denying its existence, the way Henry Wallace and John Rogge would have it. Nor does it solve the problem by running berserk, in the manner of Sen. McCarthy and the board of regents at the Univ. of California.

The crucial agency in the proper solution of the problem, of course, is the FBI. There are two things that the American people must expect of the FBI: that it be efficient; and that it do as little to violate the ways of freedom as is consistent with national security. How well have the American people been served? The question of the FBI's efficiency, especially on political questions, is an open one. Certainly we know now that a great deal of Communist espionage went on in Washington in the thirties under the nose of the FBI.

There were political obstacles to FBI activity in this field, yet one would think that an efficient federal police would not be so entirely dependent upon information provided them by ex-Communists after the fact.

Are FBI methods democratic? Here public misgivings have been growing; and some of these misgivings were stated with great force in a recent speech by Joseph L. Rauh Jr., chairman of the ADA Executive Committee. Rauh, who has always been a militant anti-Communist, here bluntly summarized doubts which have risen in many minds concerning FBI methods: the increasing use of wiretapping, the effort to cover up wiretapping by other illegal acts, as revealed in the Coplon case, and, most serious of all, the attempt to impugn the motives of any one who dares to criticize the FBI.

No government agency is above criticism; and, if any government agency should regard the play of public criticism as essential to the democratic discharge of its duties, it is the FBI. A central police agency is compatible with democracy only when its operations support political and intellectual freedom, not when they intimidate or repress it. I am sure that J. Edgar Hoover's old boss and sponsor Harlan F. Stone would tell him that the current FBI mood of neurotic sensitivity to criticism is not conducive to the democratic functioning of a police system. The Communists are against the FBI but this does not make every one who raises questions about the FBI a Communist; and, when the FBI gets to believing that all its critics are Soviet agents, then its usefulness as in serving a democracy is over.



History of The Week

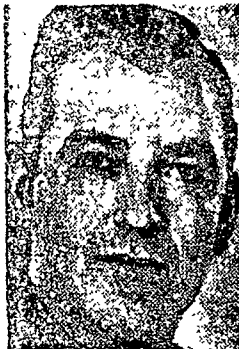
By Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Noted historian, author of "The Age of Jackson" and "The Vital Center."

Not the least complex problem of an already sufficiently complex age is that created by the existence of secret agents. Last week saw more manifestations of that problem and of its backwash upon people and upon politics. In London, Dr. Klaus Fuchs, the brilliant young scientist who had spent the crucial years of his life a slave to the Soviet illusion, pleaded guilty to charges of atomic espionage and received a sentence of 14 years. The Fuchs case put in sharp outline what all responsible people have long known: that Britain and the U. S. are the top Soviet intelligence objectives.

This was the problem; but there was also its backwash. The problem created fear and anxiety, which hysterical people would aggravate and cynical people would exploit. There was evidence of such hysteria and cynicism last week. In Washington, Dean Acheson had to make another statement on Alger Hiss, spelling it out this time in words of one syllable for the benefit of the neanderthal Republicans.

In New York the lawyers for William Remington announced that he had received an out-of-court settlement for his libel suit



McGRATH



J. E. HOOVER



FUCHS

against Elizabeth Bentley, the voluble ex-Communist who had called Remington a Communist agent. And in California the faculty of the Univ. of California was up in arms over a non-Communist oath which the board of regents, over the objection of Gov. Earl Warren and of the university's president, Robert C. Sproul, is seeking to impose upon all faculty members.

The combination of cynicism and hysteria has rarely been more compactly exhibited than in the recent performance of Sen. McCarthy of Wisconsin. McCarthy, the meager and petulant successor of Robert M. La Follette Jr., has charged that the

October 27, 1952

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RECORDED - 51

INDEXED - 51

EX-100



Dear [Redacted]

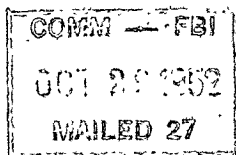
Your letter postmarked October 19, 1952, has been received.

Although I would like to be of service, I wish to advise that information in FBI files is confidential and available for official use only. I would like to take this occasion to point out also that the FBI is strictly a fact-finding agency, and it is not within the scope of its prescribed authority to make evaluations or draw conclusions as to the character or integrity of any individual.

I know you will understand the reason for these rules and will draw no inference whatsoever that this Bureau has information concerning the person you named.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director



NOTE: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. is currently an associate professor of history at Harvard University and is presently acting in a close advisory capacity to Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson. Schlesinger's father is the Professor of History at Harvard University and belongs to numerous front organizations. Schlesinger, Jr., is a member of the Americans for Democratic Action, has written voluminously in opposition to the Loyalty Program, and has been most outspoken and demonstrative with reference to his contempt for the FBI. (100-348485 and 124-530).

Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles.

NOV 13 1952

Handwritten signatures and initials

Handwritten initials: KAN, W

RECEIVED
FBI
OCT 29 1952
12 PM '52
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Oct. 13, 1952

93511 1 889-1

Dear Sir:

Recently I was told
that author M. Schlesinger, Jr.
was put on the Index of the
F.B.I. He is, I believe on aid
to Gov. Stevenson.

I would appreciate any
information in regards to these
claims if it is possible to give
out such information.

Thanking you 100-348485-18
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OCT 22 1 12 PM '52

MR. JONES

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158
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MAILED

SEP 24 1954

NAME CHECK

September 22, 1954

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.
Born: October 15, 1917
Columbus, Ohio

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

In response to your name check request there are
attached nine investigative reports concerning Arthur Meier
Schlesinger, Jr.

The foregoing information is furnished to you as
the result of your request for an FBI file check and is not
to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the
individual involved. This information is furnished for
your use and should not be disseminated outside of your
agency.

Attachment

NOTE: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is a prominent educator
and arthur. He is Associate Professor of history at
Harvard University. The original of the above memo
and the attached reports were routed to Mr. Nichols for
approval before dissemination. OSD request received
August 23, 1954.

Orig to OSD
RR: 8/23/54
S. E. Clark: wed

RECORDED - 69

INDEXED - 69

SEP 30 1954

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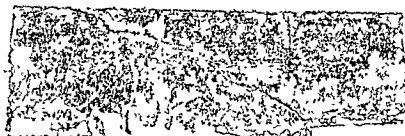
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OCT 8 1954

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Tolson _____
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Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Letters To The Editor

Infectious Disease

The desperation and dishonesty of the Republican campaign are becoming more evident every day. I hope you will permit me to cite the recent charge by Senator Francis Case (R.) of South Dakota that I have been a member of certain Communist-front organizations, a charge supposedly documented by references to reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The facts are (1) I have never been a member of these organizations, nor associated in any way with their activities and (2) that the reports of the Un-American Activities Committee cited by Senator Case do not mention me nor refer to me in any way, shape or manner.

The further fact—and a fact easily ascertainable from my writings—is that I have always been an outspoken anti-Communist.

McCarthyism is apparently infecting one Republican after another. And General Eisenhower watches the progress of the disease with evident contentment. How much longer does The Washington Post think that the general himself will remain immune?

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr.
Executive Editor
Springfield, Ill.

G. I. R. -3

file
WPN
Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.
Mar 7m 9-1

100-348485-A
NOT RECORDED
98 OCT 16 1952

Times-Herald _____
Wash. Post 26
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N.Y. Herald Tribune _____
N.Y. Mirror _____
N.Y. Compass _____

Date: OCT 10 1952

60 OCT 21 1952

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Schlesinger, Jr., Hits Mundt's Charge As "Another G. O. P. Lie"

By the Associated Press

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Oct. 11

One of Gov. Stevenson's advisers asserted today that Senator Mundt, Republican, South Dakota, co-chairman of the Republican campaign speakers' bureau, has told "another Republican lie."

The "lie" charge was made by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in answer to a statement by Senator Mundt Friday night.

The Senator said in Washington that three Harvard professors who are raising funds in a drive to defeat Senator McCarthy, Republican, Wisconsin, and Senator Jenner, Republican, Indiana, are listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee as having been associated with Communist fronts.

Names Harvard Trio

Senator Mundt named the Harvard trio as Archibald Macleish, former librarian of Congress, Arthur M. Schlesinger, sr., and Mark DeWolfe Howe.

Senator Mundt said also that the junior Schlesinger, also, is listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee as having been associated with Red front organizations.

"It becomes more obvious every day that the reason why the left-wing party which backed Henry Wallace in 1948 is causing so little stir this year is because most of its leaders have moved into positions of high authority in the Stevenson campaign," Senator Mundt said.

Schlesinger's Reply

Mr. Schlesinger, Jr., replied: "Senator Mundt's inability to distinguish between Arthur M. Schlesinger, sr. and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. is a measure either of his stupidity or his unscrupulousness."

"The Mundt innuendo about the Wallace campaign is another Republican lie. My father and I both supported Harry Truman in 1948 and vigorously opposed Wallace. I challenge Mundt to name one Wallace leader who moved into positions of high authority in the Stevenson campaign."

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98 OCT 15 1952

Times-Herald _____

Wash. Post _____

Wash. News _____

Wash. Star A-2

N.Y. Mirror _____

N.Y. Compass _____

Date: _____

62 OCT 15 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-02-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

SCHLESINGER REFUSES TO RESIGN ADA POST

Harvard Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., said last night he will not resign as national co-chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action merely because he and the organization don't see eye to eye on the issue of Communist teachers in colleges.

Schlesinger revealed his position in a talk before about 100 delegates to the seventh annual convention of the Students For Democratic Action, being held at Boston University.

The ADA is "flatly against" Communists as teachers, Schlesinger said. He maintains there are "few, if any" Communists teaching in colleges "and that any left constitute little threat to their students, except boring them to death."

Earlier in the day, Chester Bowles, former ambassador to India, said, "The American liberal movement needs a new look. It is filled with tired cliches which need re-examination."

He said the Democrats "should never be embarrassed regarding Korea," because if President Truman had not met Communist aggression, the free world would have lost Japan, which was the Red goal.

Atty. LaRue Brown, state ADA chairman, welcomed the gathering at last night's dinner and said, "It is your generation on whom, in the last analysis, rests the future of what we call civilization."

NOT RECORDED
141 SEP 24 1954

81
SEP 24 1954

BOSTON HERALD
9-9-54

ADA Elec Harvard Man Co-Chairman

BY JOHN KELSO

Post Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, May 24 - Americans for Democratic Action in the final sessions today of a convention highlighted by bristling attacks on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; elected Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., of Harvard as one of their top co-chairmen.

The 35-year-old Harvard history savant and Presidential campaign confidante of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson promptly announced at a press conference that "the new national board of the ADA must stage a two-fold fight against the Soviet menace abroad and the conspiracy of smear and slander that is threatening this country."

The convention, which named Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as honorary chairman, and James E. Doyle of Wisconsin, former clerk to Governor James F. Byrnes of North Carolina when the latter was a Supreme Court jurist and subsequently Secretary of State, as the other cochairman, adopted

a resolution charging McCarthy and his political opponents have much in common with communists they profess to hate.

"Like communists," the resolution read, "their bias is toward conformity and their sole test of loyalty is agreement with their conclusions. They would ban books, destroy academic freedom, and like communists, serve the purpose of the Soviet by weakening America and by making Americans appear divided and frightened in the eyes of the free world."

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, and president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, in a major address, claimed that the GOP is operating a "stacked deal." He said the cards are being stacked against "the little man, the wage earner, the mass of the American people."

file 5-7-68

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78 JUL 15 1953

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Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Ladd ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Clegg ☒
Mr. Glavin ☒
Mr. Harbo ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tracy ☒
Mr. Laughlin ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holloman ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

CAMBRIDGE, MASS. -- A HARVARD PROFESSOR WHO IS A SPEECH WRITER FOR ADLAI E. STEVENSON ACCUSES SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS.) OF SERVING UP "SONS WARNED OVER LIES."
PROF. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR. REFERRED TO AN ELECTION-EVEN SPEECH BY MCCARTHY LAST NIGHT. IN THAT SPEECH, MCCARTHY ACCUSED SCHLESINGER OF "COMMUNIST LINE" TENDENCIES.
IN REPLY, SCHLESINGER SAID:
"AS FOR COMMUNISTS AND FELLOW TRAVELERS IN UNIVERSITIES, I FOUGHT THEM -- AT HARVARD AND ELSEWHERE -- LONG BEFORE MCCARTHY DID."
CITING AN ARTICLE IN LIFE MAGAZINE JULY 29, 1946, SCHLESINGER SAID "I THERE EXPOSED AND INDICTED THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY IN AMERICA AT A TIME WHEN MCCARTHY WAS ACCEPTING COMMUNIST HELP IN HIS EFFORT TO DEFEAT THE GREAT ANTI-COMMUNIST BOB LA FOLLETTE IN WISCONSIN."

11/4--GE1146A

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138 NOV 13 1952

7001
63 NOV 21 1952

WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

93509, 1951

TO:

Director

Mr. Mohr 5744

Mr. Tolson 5744

Mr. Ladd 5736

Miss Gandy 5633

Mr. Clegg 5256

Mr. Nease 5633

Mr. Glavin 5517

Mr. Harbo 7625

Records Sec. 7235

Mr. Nichols 5640

Pers. Records 6635

Mr. Rosen 5706

Reading Room 5531

Mr. Tracy 4130

Mail Room 5533

Mr. Belmont 1742

Teletype 5644

Mr. Tracy

Leave Clerk 2706

Mr. McGuire 5642

Mechanical B-114

Mr. Holloman 5636

Supply Room B-118

Mr. Jones 4236

Miss Brown

Mr. Leonard 6222

Miss Corrigan

Mr. McCoy 5537

Miss Gandy

Mr. Waikart 7204

Mr. English 5627

See me

Prepare reply

Send file

Note & return

For your info

For appropriate

action

He is Running

for cover

L. B. Nichols

Room 5640, Ext. 691

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

DATE: Oct. 7, 1954

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

Nichols ☒

Belmont ☒

Harbo ☒

Mohr ☒

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Rosen ☒

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Sizoo ☒

Winterrowd ☒

Tele. Room ☒

[redacted] advised me on the evening of October 7, 1954, that Arthur Schlesinger has an article on the J. Robert Oppenheimer case in the current Atlantic Monthly; that in the last paragraph of the article, Schlesinger quotes from the Grey report. [redacted] has checked it "against the Grey report" and has found that Schlesinger misquoted the Grey report and the quotation he quoted gives an entirely different meaning than the exact quotation in the Grey report. Accordingly, he is going to do a column on this for next week.

I closed the conversation by raising the question as to just how fallible the great historian is. [redacted] seemed to be very jubilant.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc

RECORDED - 43

EX-126

100-348485-20

29 OCT 11 1954

65 OCT 14 1954

SAC, Boston

October 28, 1954

Director, FBI

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

93512

Due to the critical attitude which has been displayed toward the Bureau by Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., you are instructed that he is not to be contacted in the future unless prior Bureau authority has been obtained.

For your information, Who's Who, 1954-55, reflects that Schlesinger is associate professor of history at Harvard University and has offices at 25 Widener Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts. His home address is 109 Irving Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

NOTE: By memo dated 10-21-54, captioned "Unknown Subject; Cornelia Cannon, aka. Mrs. Walter B. Cannon - Complainant; Information Concerning," [redacted] advised Mr. Belmont that Mrs. Cannon is the mother-in-law of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writer, who is prominent in Americans for Democratic Action.

[redacted] noted that Schlesinger, Jr., "has written voluminously in opposition to the Loyalty Program and has been most outspoken and demonstrative with reference to his contempt for the Bureau." In connection with this, LHM instructed that Schlesinger, Jr., should be added to the "Not To Contact" list.

RECORDED - 10

EX - 109

OCT 29 1954

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NAME CHECK

MAILED

NOV 22 1954

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ NAME CHECK

November 24, 1954

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
Born: October 15, 1917
Columbus, Ohio

93513

In response to your name check request, there are attached nine investigative reports concerning Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

The foregoing information is furnished to you as a result of your request for an FBI file check and is not to be construed as a clearance or a nonclearance of the individual involved. This information is furnished to you and should not be disseminated outside of your agency.

Attachment

Note: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is prominent educator and author and Associate Professor of history at Harvard University. The dissemination of the attached reports is not being routed to Mr. Nichols office as he previously approved the dissemination of the reports to OSD in September, 1954.

Orig to G-2
RR 11-12-54
A.D. Short: eah
(4)

INDEXED-130

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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May 22, 1958

REC-58

100-348485-23

EX-107

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Widener T
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Schlesinger:

Your letter dated May 19, 1958, has
been received.

I regret that I am unable to comply
with your request for a transcript of my interview
with Congressman Keating, inasmuch as the interview
was extemporaneous, and I have no copy of it.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAY 22 5 11 PM '58
REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is the well-known figure who is active in the
Americans for Democratic Action and other very liberal groups.



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Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

WIDENER T
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

May 19, 1958

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Trotter	
Mr. Clayton	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I would be grateful if your office could
send me a transcript of your interview
with Representative Keating on May 18th.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
Arthur Schlesinger

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

100-348485-23

REC- 58

23 MAY 27 1958

EX-101

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EXP. PROC.

MAY 20 1958

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: September 12, 1957

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
INFORMATION CONCERNING
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

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 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
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 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke over the Moscow radio 9/10/57, according to an article in today's newspaper, and criticized the policy of the United States Department of State which prevented her from visiting communist China. Mrs. Roosevelt reportedly declared that she believed Americans should be allowed to visit communist China because "I think the more we know about other parts of the world and the more they know about us, the better it will be." (The New York Times, 9/12/57, p. -21)

Mrs. Roosevelt's appearance and statements on the Moscow radio should provide communist propagandists with fresh material for their campaign demanding recognition of communist China.

The present activities of Mrs. Roosevelt are particularly interesting in view of her position as honorary chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Last Spring, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., National Vice-Chairman of the ADA, stated that it was the wisdom of people such as Mrs. Roosevelt that had helped the ADA in its formative period to avoid many pitfalls at a time when "some liberals still had the naive notion that they could work with Communists in terms of mutual confidence and trust." If Schlesinger and other ADA spokesmen are as sincere as they purport to be in their effort to combat communism, they should point out that many people today, including the honorary chairman of the ADA itself apparently, still subscribe to the "naive notion" that they can "work with Communists in terms of mutual trust and confidence." (ADA World, May, 1957, p. 4 M)

This country has suffered enough from the individuals and groups who, while stressing their efforts to combat "the perils of Communist infiltration and deceit" as does the ADA, engage in and support activities which open the doors of this nation to communists. Instead of Mrs. Roosevelt's "the more we know about other parts of the world and the more they know about us, the better it will

CDB:rrb

(10)

1 - Section tickler

1 - C. D. Brennan

1 - M. A. Jones

NOT RECORDED

133 SEP 30 1957

SEP 27 1957

1 - F. J. Baumgardner

1 - [redacted]

1 - [redacted] Moore

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - [redacted]

1 - L. B. Nichols

CENTRAL RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-62835-71

W. to [redacted]
R. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Information Concerning
Central Research Matter

be," where communism is concerned, it is time we emphasized thinking such as that of Thomas Jefferson, who said:

"THE TIME TO GUARD against corruption and tyranny is before they shall have gotten hold of us. It is better to keep the wolf out of the fold than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he shall have entered."

An American Treasury, Peoples Book Club, Chicago, 1949, p. 124.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

[Handwritten arrow pointing upwards]

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Jones
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Mr. Gandy

93514

Books of The Times

By ORVILLE PRESCOTT

ALTHOUGH Franklin D. Roosevelt died less than twelve years ago the number of books written about him has already passed all counting. First the reporters and journalists had their say. Then Roosevelt's political associates were heard from, carefully putting their best feet forward. Then his political enemies filed their dissenting opinions. And now the historians and professors are submitting their interpretations of this century's most celebrated and most controversial American President. They are working at precisely the right moment—after the vast collection of papers at Hyde Park has been opened to their inspection but while many of Roosevelt's intimates are still alive. Frank Freidel's many-volume, still uncompleted biography is a good example of Roosevelt scholarship. So is John MacGregor Burns' "Roosevelt: The Lion and The Fox." Even more ambitious is "The Age of Roosevelt" by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., a grandiose four-volume project of which the first volume, "The Crisis of the Old Order," is published today.



A. M. Schlesinger Jr.

At the age of 39 Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. is firmly established as one of our leading younger historians and as one of the shining lights of the Harvard faculty. His "The Age of Jackson" won him a Pulitzer prize twelve years ago. His vigorous anti-Communist journalism and his role as an active backer of Adlai Stevenson and an occasional speechwriter for him have given him firsthand knowledge of modern politics. Mr. Schlesinger is as industrious in research as a history professor ought to be. He writes much more skillfully than all but a very few professors of history.

An Era Shaping a Man's Destiny

The first half of "The Crisis of the Old Order" is devoted to the political, economic, social and intellectual state of affairs in this country in the twentieth century before Roosevelt took office in 1933, with particular attention to Hoover's Administration. The second half is a biography of Roosevelt until his inauguration, with particular attention to the ideas, personalities and circumstances that influenced his thought and character. Both parts are massively detailed, filled with quotations from hundreds of persons, ably organized and briskly written. But the second part, because it has the narrative unity supplied by its hero's life, makes much the better reading. The first part is a condensed survey of such quantities of disparate material that it is always heavy-going and often tedious.

In the first part Mr. Schlesinger ranges

from Roosevelt I to Roosevelt II and does his able best to describe the significance of many men and of many ideas. His elaborate method of narration requires as much attention to ideas as to men, notably to the ideas of Dewey, Veblen, Beard, Bryan, T. R., Wilson, Norris, La Follette, Coolidge and Hoover. Mr. Schlesinger is particularly interested in the "liberal" ideas that prepared the way for the New Deal, although he does not distinguish sharply between the various kinds of ideas that have been called "liberal"—ideas of social and political reform, ideas of government ownership of mines, railroads, water power etc., and ideas of so-called "democratic collectivism."

The 1929 crash and subsequent depression, Mr. Schlesinger believes, were the direct consequence of mismanagement in high places during the Nineteen Twenties by politicians, bankers and industrialists. Mr. Schlesinger is severely critical of Hoover, acknowledging his high-minded idealism but mocking his "infatuation" with the balanced budget, his "intellectual rigidities" and his inept and shortsighted refusal to take more positive action to fight the depression. Hoover, he writes, "decided that wherever he finally dug in constituted the limits of the permissible. Doctrinaire by temperament, he tended to make every difference in degree a difference in kind and to transform questions of tactics into questions of principles. *** His was the tragedy of a man of high ideals whose intelligence froze into inflexibility and whose dedication was smitten by self-righteousness."

Facets of a Complex Personality

"The Crisis of the Old Order" is a frankly Democratic interpretation of recent history and it will certainly antagonize many Republicans. But its account of the intellectual and political climate of the first third of this century is sometimes brilliant, often entertaining and always informative and educational (even in its dull stretches). And Mr. Schlesinger's analysis of Roosevelt is thoroughly interesting. He admires his hero, but with realistic recognition of his shortcomings and of the puzzling contradictions of his character.

The following excerpt shows not only what Mr. Schlesinger thinks of Roosevelt, but also how well he can express his thoughts:

"The public face, all grin and gusto, had been carefully cultivated at Groton and Harvard; illness had made it second nature. But behind the cordiality and exuberance there remained an impassable reserve which many reconnoitered but none could penetrate. The relentless buoyancy was less an impulse of the soul than a mask of cheer to the world, in part spontaneous enough, but more a defense against pity without and discouragement within. *** Underneath there remained the other man—tougher than the public man, harder, more ambitious, more calculating, more petty, more puckish, more selfish, more malicious, more profound, more complex, more interesting. *** Detachment endowed him with a capacity for craftiness in his relations with other men, sometimes in his relations with human relations. The

1957

Y. TIMES

NOT RECORDED

46 MAR 11 1957

THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT: The Crisis of the Old Order

CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL

Washington, Oct. 17.—As a neat touch of French wit, we submit the observation our new French Ambassador Herve Alphand made to the members of the National Press Club today, after he had been tossed to the hungry news hounds who wanted answers to the Suez and North African problems.

Club President Frank Holeman of THE NEWS had sketched the early career of the diplomat. The ambassador added this contribution:

When Alphand started his career as a very junior member in the French Foreign Office, he consulted a distinguished senior for advice and received the injunction:

"Young man, to be merely rapid is not sufficient to assure your success as a diplomat. You must also be polite."

Not bad. But this reporter remembers another French wisecrack when he was beginning a tour of repartorial duty attending diplomatic receptions and cocktail parties. We asked a kindly and venerable diplomat how he was able to stand up under the ordeal of the social whirl.

He replied:
"My young friend, obey my two simple rules at these Washington functions and you will be able to bear up under them until you have reached my years. Never miss an opportunity to sit down. Never miss an opportunity to use the men's room."

Chief of FBI J. Edgar Hoover, who knows more about Communist efforts to overthrow this government than any living American, is now pondering a somewhat tongue-in-cheek communication from Col. Archibald B. Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt.



Ambassador Alphand
He got expert advice

Ghost Writers Seen Haunting Adlai's Head

Col. Roosevelt, noting that it has been modern procedure for the FBI and the Secret Service to give general protection in every Presidential campaign year to the White House candidates of both major parties, makes the suggestion:

"I believe that this procedure should be broadened so as to protect not only the bodies of the candidates but their minds."

The mind which Col. Archibald Roosevelt thinks FBI should protect at this time from Communist pressure is that of Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson. And candidate Stevenson, Roosevelt believes, stands in immediate peril from his ghost writers—in particular novelist-playwright John Hersey, Harvard Prof. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and former New Deal Deputy OPA Administrator John Kenneth Galbraith.

The letter to Hoover observed:

"Since Mr. Herbert Hoover left the White House in 1929, it has become more and more the custom for Presidents and Presidential candidates to use what are now known as 'ghost writers.' Obviously, if a President has not the wish, nor the ability, to put his thoughts into his own words, the 'ghost writer' becomes someone of enormous power in the formation of the policies, as well as the words, of his 'front'."

Roosevelt said that after noting the names of the Adlai Stevenson ghost writers he—

Cites the Record on Stevenson's Scribes

"Went back to my files on Communism and Communist Relations—a fairly extensive one, though, of course, not to be compared with what is available to the FBI—and made the rather horrible discovery that the ghost writers of Mr. Stevenson have a long list of affiliations that sends chills down the spine of any American. A knowledge of the left wing conspiracy to take over our country."

"To give you a quick summary of Mr. Stevenson's ghost writers, let me point out (although, of course, you know better than I) the records of his 'ghosts' the following:

"John Hersey: Was one of the trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which was characterized by the Senate Judiciary Committee as a vehicle for Kremlin policies and as a means through which espionage was expedited.

"Hersey was in contact with and consulted with Soviet agents, one of whom is now a high official of Red China.

"Hersey supported the convicted Reds in Hollywood. He was jailed for refusing to testify before a government body and had generally aided those who were busy infiltrating the movie industry for the Communist Party.

"Hersey participated in a closed meeting of an agency of the Soviet Government in Moscow, which was devoted exclusively to the job of discussing Hersey's contribution to literature."

Involvement in Stolen Secrets Charges

"Hersey's name figured prominently in testimony about stolen documents which were taken out of government files and photocopied by the Soviet agents in the Amerasia magazine scandal of 1945. His name was on the copies referring to 'A' bombs (developed before the atomic bombing of Japan) and other vital data on our effort.

"John Kenneth Galbraith was forced to resign as deputy OPA administrator in 1943 after being accused before a Congressional committee of being 'a radical theorist.'

"Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (following in his father's footsteps) is well-known for his socialistic views and has an extensive record as a backslider.

"This is perhaps why, to persons like me, Mr. Stevenson's speeches emphasizing class divisions, recommending the dropping of the American experiments of the atom bomb, and other radical statements, sound as though they had been lifted bodily out of the Daily Worker."

October 15, 1956

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

I am transmitting herewith a copy of a communication I have received from [redacted] who suggests that steps be taken to make available to Mr. Adlai Stevenson any information pertaining to the background of his alleged "ghost writers" who [redacted] indicates are John Hersey, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and John Kenneth Galbraith.

I have acknowledged [redacted] letter, pointing out that this was not a matter within the purview of our responsibility, and I have advised him that I am calling his letter to your attention.

Enclosure

cc - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

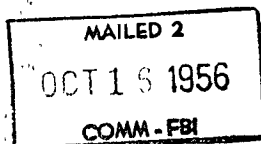
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cc - Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

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ORIGINAL FILE IN

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Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

TEMPLETON
3625

NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

October 11, 1956

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Mr. [redacted]	✓

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I understand that for some time it has been the custom to assign Secret Service men to protect the person of both the principal Presidential candidates in presidential election years.

I believe that this procedure should be broadened so as to protect not only the bodies of the candidates, but their minds as well.

Since Mr. Herbert Hoover left the White House in 1932, it has become more and more the custom for Presidents and presidential candidates to use what are now known as "Ghost Writers". Obviously, if a president has not the wish, nor the ability, to put his thoughts into his own words, the "ghost writer" becomes someone of enormous power in the formation of the policies, as well as the words, of his "front". It is of the utmost importance to the nation that the "ghosts" be "above reproach" like Caesar's wife when it comes to service to and love of our Republic.

I had all this in mind when, on September 24th, I read an article in the New York Times which gave a purported list of "ghost writers" for the two major presidential candidates. These are listed as follows:

For Mr. Stevenson: John Hersey, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., John Kenneth Galbraith.

For Mr. Eisenhower: [redacted]

Some of the names made an impression on me, so I went back to my files on communism and communist affiliations -- a fairly extensive one, though, of course, not to be compared to what is available to the F.B.I. -- and made the rather horrifying discovery

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

NOT RECORDED

OCT 30 1956

OCT 26 1956

ORDINANCE

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OCT 20 1956

TEMPLETON 8
3625

NEW YORK 21. N. Y.

- 2 -

that the ghost writers of Mr. Stevenson have a list of affiliations that sends chills down the spine of any American with a knowledge of the left wing conspiracy to take over our Republic.

So far as my files are concerned, the ghost writers of President Eisenhower had no record of affiliations with any subversive groups. This, I hasten to say, has nothing to do with the fact as to whether I approve, or disapprove of Mr. Eisenhower's policies as enunciated by those whom the New York Times designates as his "ghosts".

To give you a quick summary of Mr. Stevenson's ghosts, let me point out (although, of course, you know better than I the records of his "ghosts") the following:

John Hersey: Was one of the trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations which was characterized by the Senate Judiciary Committee as a vehicle for Kremlin policies and as a means through which espionage was expedited.

Hersey was in contact with and consulted with Soviet agents, one of whom is now a high official of Red China.

Hersey supported the convicted re-els in Hollywood who were jailed for refusing to testify before a government body and generally aided those who were busy infiltrating the movie industry for the Communist Party.

Hersey participated in a closed meeting of an agency of the Soviet government in Moscow which was devoted exclusively to the job of discussing Hersey's contribution to "literature". This Soviet agency is one which is

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NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

- 3 -

charged with distribution of literature throughout the world for the Kremlin and has been charged with being one of the chief espionage machines for the Soviets. As of course you know, such employment requires that such a person must be cleared by the Soviet N.K.V.D.

Hersey's name figured prominently in testimony about the stolen documents which were taken out of government files to be photoed by the Soviet agents in the AMERASIA magazine offices in 1945. His name was on the copies referring to "A" bombs (this was before the atomic bombing of Japan) and other vital data on our war effort. (See attached documentation for the above facts.)

John Kenneth Galbraith was forced to resign as Deputy OPA Administrator in 1943 after being accused before a Congressional Committee of being "a radical theorist".

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (following in his father's footsteps) is well known for his socialistic views and has an extensive left-wing background.

Although I have neither the time nor the facilities to make a thorough examination of all these men, I have, however, made a fairly extensive check-up of Mr. Hersey's public record. I enclose herewith a documented report that will, I believe, make any American who reads it leave Mr. Hersey strictly out of policy-making involving the welfare of our Republic. This is perhaps why, to persons like me, Mr. Stevenson's speeches emphasizing class divisions, recommending the banning of the American experiments on the Atom Bomb, and other such statements, sound as though they had been lifted bodily out of the Daily Worker.

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NEW YORK 21. N. Y.

- 4 -

Mr. Stevenson, by his own actions, as illustrated by his being a character witness (by deposition) in court for Alger Hiss, is, at best, very naive about the communist menace in the United States. As a potential President of our Republic, it is vital for all of us -- Democrat or Republican -- that he be advised on this matter to the same extent as is the President.

For this reason, Mr. Hoover, I beg that you obtain from Mr. Stevenson a list of his "ghosts" and make available to him the same facilities for such studies as are available to the present incumbent of the White House.

If this requires an executive order, I would be glad -- and would feel it my duty -- to request the President to give his principal opponent the necessary information.

Very truly yours,

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TO : Mr. Nease

DATE: August 5, 1958

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: CRITICAL REVIEW OF "MASTERS OF DECEIT" BY
ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., AUGUST, 1958,
ISSUE OF "THE PROGRESSIVE"

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

The above-captioned review is most critical. Schlesinger says the book "is a paste-up job, superficial in its history, superficial in its analysis of the appeal of Communism, superficial or worse in its own basic philosophy. This trivial book would hardly have won such glowing notices if it had not been signed by the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Schlesinger says that Mr. Hoover expresses his "abhorrence of Communism in a banal rhetoric which, with the obvious changes, might have come straight from 'Pravda'...." He points out that the first part of "Masters of Deceit" is a "shallow and lacklustre account of the origins of Communism." The middle section on communist methods and activities he characterizes as "workmanlike," but disagrees with the last section which he calls Mr. Hoover's "own prescription on how America can stay free." He asserts that the Director's picture of the communist movement is "rigid and mechanical; he sees a static, changeless intrigue, impervious to the storms of history, diabolically committed to a single permanent purpose."

Schlesinger continues by asserting that Mr. Hoover's belief is that the essential issue between communism and ourselves is belief in God. Schlesinger says this is a "fairly trite statement in this age of piety," which is actually erroneous. The real issue, Schlesinger says, is not whether we believe in God or not, but whether we believe in freedom under law or not. "And, where freedom guarantees the right to believe or disbelieve in God, belief in God by no means guarantees civil or intellectual freedom." He says Mr. Hoover misunderstands the American tradition when the Director asserts that our faith in democracy is rooted in a belief in a Supreme Being, as agnostics and atheists have played an important role in American history.

In conclusion, Schlesinger attacks the book as being anti-intellectual. "But the underlying thrust of its argument is that Communism is a disease of atheists and intellectuals, produced by lack of 'faith' rather than by social and economic frustration." Schlesinger adds this sentence: "Thus Mr. Hoover will write (my italics), 'We need to show our young people, particularly those endowed with high intellects, that we in our democracy need what they have to offer.' He then asks on what basis does the head of the FBI suppose that bright children are more vulnerable to communism than stupid ones?"

SENT DIRECTOR

8-6-58

REC-74

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EX-135

Jones to Nease memorandum

The last sentence of the review reads: "The Hoover book, by reducing everything to cops-and-robbers terms, has the paradoxical effect of diminishing the very danger it tries so hard to evoke."

Schlesinger, of course, is well known to the Bureau as a professor of History at Harvard University. He is the author of "The Age of Jackson," a 1945 Pulitzer Prize winner. He has been an active national leader of Americans for Democratic Action. He has been critical of the FBI in the past including FBI use of informants. (100-348485)

A copy of Schlesinger's review is attached.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Enclosure

Weyne
8/6

pm

Two on Communists

THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY: A CRITICAL HISTORY (1919-1957), by Irving Howe and Lewis Coser. Beacon Press. 593 pages. \$6.75.

MASTERS OF DECEIT: THE STORY OF COMMUNISM IN AMERICA AND HOW TO FIGHT IT, by J. Edgar Hoover. Holt. 374 pp. \$5.

Reviewed by

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

THERE seems to be something about Communism which drags most books about it down to its own dreary level. For one thing, Communist literature evidently exerts a hypnotic effect even on its critics, carrying a stylistic contagion no matter how anti-Communist the stance of the writer. The prose rhythms of Messrs. Howe and Coser reproduce all too implacably the abstract-bureaucratic jargon of the Stalinists whom they so profoundly detest; and J. Edgar Hoover expresses his abhorrence of Communism in a banal rhetoric which, with the obvious changes, might have come straight from *Pravda* (thus, the American Communist Party becomes the "lackey of Moscow").

I don't mean to suggest that these two works are on the same level. The Howe-Coser book is incomparably superior. For all its defects, it is clearly the best one-volume history of the American Communist Party. It is well-researched, shrewd, acute, and knowing. The chapters on "The Intellectuals Turn Left" and "The Popular Front" are brilliant. There are good things everywhere along the way. On the other hand, the book is also marred by a variety of gratuitous attitudes on the part of its authors. It is patronizing, know-it-all, and filled with infinite wisdom after the event; one almost sees Howe and Coser as schoolmasters grading their students in the art of revolution—Ruthenberg, B plus; Foster, A for spirit and C for execution; Browder, C minus, and so on.

For all its dogmatism of tone, it

The PROGRESSIVE

shows limited knowledge about the United States outside the radical orbit; thus the authors enact TVA in 1935, call Major George Berry of the Pressmen "Jack Berry of the AFL Printers," and write grotesquely exaggerated sentences like: "For several years guerrilla warfare tore up some of the American campuses." They describe the student movement of the thirties as "a training ground for liberals, intellectuals, and trade-union leaders—in short, for part of a new American elite, the articulate spokesmen and representative figures of postwar society"—a ridiculous statement when so few people who engaged in that student movement have ever been heard of since. They exhibit an occasional sentimental preference of a neo-Trotskyite sort for romantic revolutionaries without ever making a serious argument that such people had contact with reality; at the same time, they cover themselves by sporadic retreats into heavy Marxist irony of the three-dot sort (on the IWW—"most of its talk about sabotage was just . . . talk").

And the book is not helped by a portentous theoretical vocabulary. Thus on Debs: he "sensed the ritual uses of lonely anger and embodied in himself the need men have for a symbolic agent to bear the agonies of their time," by which the authors appear to mean that Debs' oratory relieved the pent-up feelings of some in his audience. Indeed, it is often hard to detect in these pretentious pages the Irving Howe of that admirable book *Politics and the Novel*. A concluding essay, "Toward a Theory of Stalinism," is stimulating but terribly unfinished. It has suggestive insights about Stalinism, but the theory is derived far too much from the American experience and explains all too little about Stalinism in France or Italy, not to mention about Stalinism in Asia.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's book has one advantage over the Howe-Coser work: it treats the phenomena of Communist espionage and underground activity. "We have chosen not to deal with these matters," Howe and Coser write, "not because they are unimportant—they certainly deserve treatment by other writers—but because we have had to submit ourselves

to the usual limitations of space, time, interest, and competence." While they are correct in arguing that Communism is not just a conspiracy, the fact remains that conspiracy is the psychological essence of Communism, and that the sadism and masochism implicit in conspiracy are often basic sources of the Communist appeal. Conspiracy, in short, is an organic part of the Communist story; and, in confining themselves to its milder manifestations, Howe and Coser make their work not only factually but psychologically incomplete.

This is the only advantage Hoover's *Masters of Deceit* enjoys over *The American Communist Party*. For the rest, it is a paste-up job, superficial in its history, superficial in its analysis of the appeal of Communism, superficial or worse in its own basic philosophy. This trivial book would hardly have won such glowing notices if it had not been signed by the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The first part of the book is a shallow and lackluster account of the origins of Communism. There follows a workmanlike middle section on Communist methods and activities. Hoover concludes with his own prescription on how America can stay free. If Howe and Coser err by ignoring the conspiratorial aspects of Communism, Mr. Hoover can see nothing else. His picture of the Communist movement is rigid and mechanical; he sees a static, changeless intrigue, impervious to the storms of history, diabolically committed to a single permanent purpose. Sometimes his own data contradict his theory. Thus he can write: "The Communist official in our country realizes that his supporters often form a motley collection, varying greatly in loyalty: some are fanatically loyal; others are half-timers or single-nighters. Many are 'tremblers,' needing constant encouragement, whereas some are just victims unwittingly caught in the Party net." This sound insight might have provided the basis for a valuable analysis; but Mr. Hoover does not permit it for a moment to disturb his fundamental vision of the Communist movement as a phalanx of disciplined and reliable traitors.

Given Mr. Hoover's authority and responsibility, his broad picture of the conflict with Communism is of particular interest. He believes that

August, 1958

ENCLOSURE

the essential issue between Communists and ourselves is be- God. This is a fairly trite statement in this age of piety, but it surely deserves a little more examination than it has had. For one thing, it is evidently factually erroneous. Many anti-Communists do not believe in God at all; many more do not believe in Mr. Hoover's Presbyterian God. And many supporters of Communism, illogical as it may seem, do believe in a supernatural order, not only in such Catholic countries as Italy and France but throughout Asia.



Surely the issue between ourselves and the Communists is not whether we believe in God or not, but whether we believe in freedom under law or not. And, where freedom guarantees the right to believe or disbelieve in God, belief in God by no means guarantees civil or intellectual freedom. Many God-fearing nations have been authoritarian in their government. Since this is so, it is surely freedom itself and not "compulsory godliness" (in Justice Jackson's excellent phrase) for which we are fighting. Hoover misunderstands the American tradition when he writes, "The very essence of our faith in democracy and our fellow man is rooted in a belief in a Supreme Being." The Constitution of the United States is a notably secular document and has resisted the sporadic efforts of pious citizens to amend it by inserting the word "God"; Theodore Roosevelt, probably as good an American as Mr. Hoover, even wanted to remove the phrase "In God We Trust" from our coins. What Mr. Hoover appears to forget is what Justice Jackson wisely reminded us—"The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion." Those who try to make agnostics and atheists into some sort of third-class citizens are not only falsifying the American tradition of liberty; they are performing a great disservice to genuine religion.

Masters of Deceit has some useful language about protecting the rights of individuals and fighting Communism by improving our democratic institutions. But the underlying thrust of its argument is that Communism is a disease of atheists and intellectuals, produced by lack of

"faith" rather than by social or economic frustration. Thus Mr. Hoover will write (my italics), "We need to show our young people, *particularly those endowed with high intellects*, that we in our democracy need what they have to offer." On what basis does the head of the FBI suppose that bright children are more vulnerable to Communism than stupid ones? Certainly the study of American prisoners-of-war who succumbed to Communist brainwashing in Korea does not substantiate this generalization.

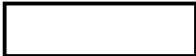
The Howe-Coser book, by presenting Communism as an enormously supple, powerful, and fluid phenomenon, a movement as well as a conspiracy, gives us some sense of the dimensions of the Communist threat. The Hoover book, by reducing everything to cops-and-robbers terms, has the paradoxical effect of diminishing the very danger it tries so hard to evoke.

August 28, 1958

100-348485-25

REC-136



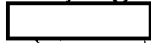
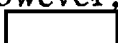
Dear 

I have received the copy of your letter dated August 22 which you directed to Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Thank you very much for making it available to me.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover

6

NOTE: Files reflect limited correspondence with  On 5/19/58 he was thanked for his congratulations on "Masters of Deceit."

Schlesinger's review of "Masters of Deceit" was most critical and he asserted that the Director believed that the essential issue between communism and ourselves is belief in God. Schlesinger stated, "This is a fairly trite statement in this age of piety."  letter to Schlesinger is generally favorable to the book, however, it is not felt any comment regarding his statements is in order.  sets out his analysis of the "core of the American philosophy" as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and criticized Schlesinger for missing the significance of this philosophy.

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MAIL ROOM ☐

August 22, 1958

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
M. _____

Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Harvard University
Cambridge 1, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Schlesinger:

Of the two books reviewed by you in the August issue of "The Progressive", the Howe-Coser book is undoubtedly the more valuable to the student of Communism in the U.S.A. On the other hand, Mr. Hoover's book should be welcomed, not maligned, by anti-Communists like yourself if only for its impact on the American public. Precisely because it was authored by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation it escaped the critical infanticide so often reserved for books of this nature and now is being widely read. That, I believe, was Mr. Hoover's objective.

I was interested, too, in your comments about Mr. Hoover's "static" attitude toward Communism. Mr. Hoover is dealing with the objectives of the Communist Party itself - not with members who for their own reasons have joined its ideological fringes, nor with its non-Communist supporters. Mr. Hoover's attitude appears "static" because these Communist Party objectives remain static - abolition of private property. One thing which can be said in Mr. Hoover's favor - he has been proved right while so many of our leading pundits have been proved abysmally mistaken.

Which brings up a point in which you yourself are grievously in error - namely, the primary place of faith in God in the current conflict. It is perfectly true that many "God-fearing nations have been authoritarian in their government." The reason for this has been the interposition of the state alone or in combination with the church between the individual and his Master. The core of the American philosophy as expressed in the Declaration of Independence is:

(A) Man owes his primary allegiance to his Creator. It is a direct and individual relationship. God's moral laws apply directly to the individual and are not passed on to him or interpreted for him by the state.

(B) God has given man certain rights. These are inalienable. They include Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. Not happiness, mind you, but the pursuit of happiness - recognition by our founders that happiness is an individual matter.

100-348485-25
SEP 3 1958

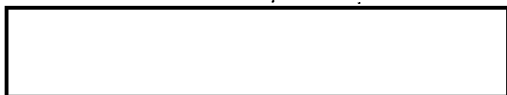
EXP. PROC.
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-2-

(C) The function of government, which is a man-made thing, is to preserve and protect these rights - to keep some men from usurping the rights of others.

These are the core of traditional American political philosophy. The Constitution of the United States simply erects a legal structure to give these ideas tangible form and force. With so many matters vying for their time, it is not surprising for the average citizen to miss the significance of the Declaration. It is most surprising for you, a historian, to do so.

Sincerely yours,



✓bcc: J. Edgar Hoover

my

Encl
B 10-1

Thought you'd be
interested . . .

J. Edgar Hoover -
No need to
acknowledge.



my

REC-60

100-348485-26

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EX-108

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ENCLOSURE

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EX-108

Hoach,
CRIM REC.

WIDENER T
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

UNIVERSITY 4-9710

September 8, 1958

Dear

Thank you for your interesting letter. I regret that I must differ with you concerning your interpretation of the Constitution. If the Founding Fathers had intended it to incorporate the ideas you attribute to it, I am sure they would have taken the trouble to put them in.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Schlesinger Jr.



You mean, as a historian, that you see no significant sequential relationship between the Declaration and the Constitution?!

Cordelia

100-348485-26

Date

4-5-91

Classification of Mail:

- ☐ Unclassified
☐ Confidential
☐ Secret
☒ Top Secret*
☐ SCI*
☐ Other

Mail Category:

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LHM _____ Memo ☒
Report _____ Other _____
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FD-501 Number

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FD-502 Number

Subject

Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

Date of Mail

3-10-59

Description of Material

FM: G.H. Scatterday to: A. H. Belmont
(include identity of originating office or agency)

This serial has been removed and placed in:

☒ Special File Room, Room 5991, FBIHQ☐(Field Office - Room, Cabinet, or other
location where material is stored)

This action taken based upon authority of:

☐ TS/SCICO, FBIHQ, 62-116065☐ Field Office Manager

File and Serial number

100-348485-27
w/enclosure

(Signature and Title of Approving Official)

Date

*requires special handling

March 16, 1959

PERSONAL
BY COURIER SERVICE

REC- 64

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing herewith summaries on
Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., and James Barrett
Reston, which I thought might be of interest to
you.

Sincerely,

/s/ Edgar

Enclosures (2)

Honorable James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

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W. C. Sullivan

67 APR 3 1959

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3 ENCLOSURES

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1 - Yellow
1 - Name Check
1 - Belmont
1 - Montgomery
1 - Brown

March 11, 1959

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hagerty:

Apropos of our conversation on March 6, 1959,
the enclosed memoranda of data available in our
files concerning Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.,
and James Barrett Reston are furnished to you
for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosures (2)

JWB/nmn
(6)

NOTE: Cover memo Scatterday to Belmont 3/10/59 re
SCHLESINGER, JR. AND RESTON by JWB/JDM:nmn.

DeLoach
McGuire
W.C. Sullivan

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UNITED STATES

Meier Schlesinger

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TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: July 6, 1960

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNINGSYNOPSIS:

Pursuant to Director's request July 5, 1960, Bureau files have been reviewed for information regarding Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr. Schlesinger, Jr., born October 10, 1917, of Columbus, Ohio, received AB degree at Harvard University and also attended Cambridge College in England. Investigated under European Recovery Program in 1948. No one interviewed indicated him to be communist or communist sympathizer. Described as anticommunist liberal and leader for freedom of expression. He is opposed to investigations and witch hunts. One person described him as being "liberal throughout Roosevelt era and like so many other liberals was pro-Soviet." His father, Schlesinger, Sr., was member or affiliated with numerous Communist Party fronts. Morris Ernst said father was not communist but activities in defending civil rights involved him in CP front groups. Schlesinger, Jr. admitted to Mr. Nichols that his father had belonged to or affiliated with numerous CP fronts. Schlesinger, Jr. questioned FBI's efficiency and inferred political and intellectual freedoms intimidated by FBI. He was set straight by Director's letter, 3/50. Active in Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Wrote speeches for Adlai Stevenson, 1952 and 1956 political campaigns. His writings have been anticommunist and have been attacked by communist press many times. Regards Mrs. Roosevelt as one who has wisdom who had helped the ADA in its formative period to avoid pitfalls at a time when "some liberals still had the naive notion that they could work with communists in terms of mutual confidence and trust." In August, 1958, Schlesinger wrote a critical review of "Masters of Deceit" which appeared in an issue of "The Progressive." "Washington Post," December 26, 1959, states Schlesinger and John Kenneth Galbraith consulted frequently by Senator John Kennedy. Further that so far both have declined to head any Kennedy speech advisory staff.

ACTION:

For Director's information.

WFW:el
(7)

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach

52 JUL 15 1960 Name Check Section

REC-34 100-348465-28

12 JUL 13 1960

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DETAILS

Pursuant to the Director's request of July 5, 1960, there follows a summary of information in Bureau files concerning Arthur Meier ~~Schlesinger~~, Jr., a Harvard University professor. *Summary*

Schlesinger was born October 16, 1917, at Columbus, *Mass.* Ohio, and received his AB degree from Harvard College in 1938. He also attended Cambridge College in Cambridge, England, *Cuba* 1938-1939. Schlesinger served with the Office of War Information during 1942-1943 and with the Office of Strategic Services. *Wash DC*

Schlesinger was investigated by the Bureau under the European Recovery Program in 1948. No one interviewed alleged that he is or was a communist or a communist sympathizer. He was described by most as a violently anticommunist liberal. Morris Ernst gave him an unqualified recommendation. One individual said he was a "liberal throughout the Roosevelt era and like so many other liberals was pro-Soviet." This statement, an isolated one, is the only information that we have indicating any pro-Soviet feeling on the part of Schlesinger, Jr. Since World War II he has become increasingly aware of communist tactics and strategy, including front organizations and has actively written against all sides of them. All persons interviewed believed him to be entirely loyal to the United States. He was described as a New Deal liberal; extremely learned; a leader for freedom of expression; anticommunist and opposed to "investigations and witch hunts."

Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., also a Harvard professor, has belonged to many organizations declared subversive by the Attorney General. Some information in our files can be definitely imputed to Schlesinger, Sr.; much of it because identifying data is lacking cannot be imputed to either Junior or Senior Schlesinger. It is noted also that some information

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

received from other Government agencies and information contained in Senate Committee reports is incorrectly attributed to Schlesinger, Jr. for we have information in our files which shows that the activities are definitely attributed to Schlesinger, Sr. Morris Ernst said Schlesinger, Sr. is not a communist but that his activities in defending "civil rights" involved him in several communist front groups. In July, 1948, W. Averell Harriman, formerly with the Economic Cooperation Administration wanted Schlesinger, Jr., to assist him in Paris. Information was brought to the Bureau's attention that Schlesinger, Jr., could not be cleared to go over seas and it was indicated that possibly this was brought about by a mix-up in the identity between Junior and Senior Schlesinger. At this time Schlesinger, Jr., came to the Bureau and talked with Mr. Nichols in detail, pointing out his anticommunist feelings as indicated by his writings. He denied any affiliation with communist groups but admitted that his father had belonged to and supported various communist fronts. He admitted that he had in a speech given in Boston during May, 1947, taken off on the House Committee on Un-American Activities for their "unwarranted interference in our democratic way of life."

Schlesinger, Jr., has on more than one occasion criticized FBI use of informants, questioned the FBI's efficiency, stating that a great deal of communist espionage went on in Washington in the 1930's under the nose of the FBI without being uncovered. He inferred that political and intellectual freedoms are intimidated by the FBI. Schlesinger, in a letter dated March 15, 1950, from the Director, was told that his attack was manifestly unfair and pointed out why.

Schlesinger has on various occasions denounced the House Un-American Activities Committee. He has for many years been active in the Americans for Democratic Action; was a speech writer for Adlai Stevenson during his campaign for the presidency; has been an ardent speaker for civil liberties; has defended the rights of communists to follow their political philosophies as long as they keep within the rules of the law. On the other hand, our files contain many references indicating Schlesinger's

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

anticommunist feelings and show that he has been attacked innumerable times by the communist press for his attacks on communists in his various writings. For example, Schlesinger attended an Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty in Havana, Cuba, during May, 1950, as one of several United States delegates. The conference adopted a declaration repudiating communism and criticized specifically certain communists and attacked Latin American dictatorships. The "Daily Worker" severely criticized Schlesinger for his book "The Vital Center." This book dealt with the future of the noncommunist Left and the necessity for divorcing itself from communist influence.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in speaking over the Moscow radio September 10, 1957, criticized the policy of the United States Department of State which prevented her from visiting communist China. At that time Mrs. Roosevelt was honorary chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). Schlesinger, Jr., National Vice-Chairman of the ADA during the same period, stated that it was the wisdom of people such as Mrs. Roosevelt that had helped the ADA in its formative period to avoid many pitfalls at a time when "some liberals still had the naive notion that they could work with communists in terms of mutual confidence and trust."

The August, 1958, issue of "The Progressive" contained a critical review of "Masters of Deceit" by Schlesinger, Jr. He said the book "is a paste-up job, superficial in its history, superficial in its analysis of the appeal of communism, superficial or worse in its own basic philosophy. This trivial book would hardly have won such notice if it had not been signed by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." (100-348485-2427)

In December 26, 1959, issue of the "Washington Post" and "Times Herald" there was contained an article entitled "Kennedy Building Own 'Braintrust' of University, Industrial Leaders." This article mentioned that Professor John Kenneth Galbraith and Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., both of Harvard

Memorandum Scatterday to Belmont
Re: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

University, are two among others whom Kennedy (Senator J. F. Kennedy) consulted frequently. According to this article both have declined so far to head up any Kennedy speech advisory staff. This article continued that both Galbraith and Schlesinger, Jr. were Stevenson writers in 1952 and 1956.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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These Days

The Unobjective Historian

By George E. Sokolsky

THE assumption must be that an historian is objective. His task is to discover the facts of a man's existence upon this earth to collate and correlate them, to record them, and sometimes, as Toynbee has tried, to make them into a system. When an historian writes, as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. did that he is engaged in a private crusade to exterminate this particular myth that Herbert Hoover offered cooperation to Roosevelt in the weeks between the election and inauguration in 1932-33, he, Schlesinger, ceases to be an historian and becomes a propagandist.



Sokolsky

Four men were engaged in the conversations concerning the cooperation under discussion. They were President Herbert Hoover, President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ogden Mills and Raymond Moley. Of these four men, Herbert Hoover and Raymond Moley are alive. Concerning these events Hoover and Moley have written.

Schlesinger, at the time of these events, was 15 years old; he was not an intimate of these men and therefore can only know what transpired from a selected documentation of the case.

A journalist would interview Herbert Hoover and Raymond Moley, the two survivors of the conference; perhaps an historian rejects the

testimony of the living and only deals with documentation.

ON FEBRUARY 17, 1933, Herbert Hoover wrote a long-hand letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, which read:

"A most critical situation has arisen in the country of which I feel it is my duty to advise you confidentially. I am therefore taking this course of writing you myself and sending it to you through the Secret Service for your hand direct as obviously its misplacement would only feed the fire and increase the dangers."

Further, he wrote:

"... I do not refer to action on all the causes of alarm, but it would steady the country greatly if there could be prompt assurance that there will be no tampering or inflation of the currency; that the budget will be unquestionably balanced, even if further taxation is necessary; that the Government credit will be maintained by refusal to exhaust it in the issue of securities"

"I am taking the liberty of addressing you because both in my anxiety over the situation and my confidence from four years of experience that such tides as are now running can be moderated and the processes of regeneration which are also always running can be released . . ."

Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, agreeing with Hoover, refused to become Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury, because of similar fears. Raymond Moley was

at that time closest to Roosevelt. He had been the leading person of the so-called Brain Trust. In his book, "After Seven Years," Moley deals fully with this situation. He accompanied Roosevelt to the White House for the conference with Hoover and Mills.

I REFER to this one instance because it is so fully documented and two witnesses are alive to give testimony. There was another conference on Jan. 20, 1933, at which Hoover, Roosevelt, Secretary of State Henry Stimson, Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills, Ambassador Norman Davis and Raymond Moley were present. In fact, a joint statement was issued at the time.

In the curious document from which I quote, the historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. says:

"What kind of cooperation was this? Cooperation from a defeated President ought to consist of an effort to help the President-elect put his program into effect. Hoover's tenders of cooperation consisted instead of demands that Roosevelt repudiate the program on which he had been elected and accept Hoover's . . ."

I wonder if, in his busy life, the historian has had time to look at the Roosevelt program of 1932. It had to do with beer and economy in Government expenditures. It was nothing like the Roosevelt program of 1936 and 1940. It is the second New Deal Schlesinger is thinking about.

(Copyright, 1959, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
Date _____

NOT RECORDED
145 JUL 1 1959

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 11-14-60

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.

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Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____

The purpose of this memo is to set forth pertinent available data from Bufiles concerning captioned individual, a Professor of History at Harvard, who will probably serve as an advisor to President-elect Kennedy.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

Arthur Meier Schlesinger, born 10-15-17, Columbus, Ohio, received his A.B. degree (summa cum laude) at Harvard in 1938. He attended Cambridge University in England, 1939-42. He was employed by the Office of War Information, 1942-43, and was associated with the Office of Strategic Services, 1943-45. He served in the U. S. Army in 1945. He was Associate Professor of History at Harvard, 1946-54, and has been Professor of History at that institution since 1954. He is a prolific writer on matters of a political and historical nature and his book, "The Age of Jackson," won Pulitzer Prize for History in 1945. He served as Political advisor and speech writer to Adlai Stevenson during the Presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956. He is married and has four children. It is noted there are over 400 references concerning Schlesinger and the following represents a concise summary of the high lights concerning him.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Since 1954, Schlesinger has been on the Bureau's "Not To Contact" list because he has "written voluminously in opposition to the Loyalty Program and has been most outspoken and demonstrative with reference to his contempt for the Bureau." In an article entitled "The U.S. Communist Party" appearing in the 7-29-46 issue of "Life" magazine, Schlesinger noted: "While the espionage threat cannot be shrugged off, it cannot be solved by witch hunts or un-American committees." The "Daily Worker" attacked Schlesinger for this article. In May, 1947, Schlesinger spoke at a dinner in Boston and denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities and referred to the FBI's "unwarranted interference in our Democratic way of life." On this occasion, he is alleged to have stated privately that the Director "represents more destructive force in public life today than any Fascist who might be named, including Rankin." Concerning this alleged statement, Schlesinger was interviewed by former Assistant to the Director L. B. Nichols in July, 1948, and denied making such a statement and added that he had confidence in the FBI.

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Parsons
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Ingram
- 1 - Mr. Jones (Room 4236)

(continued next page)

CRIME RESEARCH

JAN 19 1961

EX-113

REC-8 100-348485-27

JAN 4 1961

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

In May, 1948, Schlesinger was one of 46 members of the Harvard faculty urging defeat of the Mundt-Nixon Anti-Communist Bill on the grounds that while the bill appeared aimed at restricting the activities of communists, "its vague and loose phraseology would threaten the expression of liberal and progressive thought." In July, 1948, we investigated Schlesinger in connection with the European Recovery Program. This investigation disclosed no allegations that Schlesinger was a communist or a sympathizer at that time. He was described as a violently anticommunist liberal and a "New Deal" liberal who stood for freedom of expression and who was opposed to "investigations and witch hunts."

Bufiles reflect that Schlesinger's father, Schlesinger, Sr., who was also a Professor of History at Harvard, was affiliated with a number of communist front organizations during the 1940's. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the late Dr. Walter Cannon, former Dean of Harvard Medical School, was a member of numerous communist front organizations. Schlesinger has been active in the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) for a number of years and in 1958 was on the Executive Committee of ADA. He was also a national officer of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1950. The 3-5-50 issue of the "New York Post" carried an article by Schlesinger which was critical of the FBI. He questioned the efficiency of the Bureau stating, "Certainly we know now that a great deal of communist espionage went on in Washington in the 1930's under the nose of the FBI." He also commented: "When the FBI gets to believing that all its critics are Soviet agents, then its usefulness in serving a democracy is over." He inferred that political and intellectual freedoms are intimidated by the FBI. He was set straight by former Assistant to the Director Nichols in a letter dated 3-15-50.

The 8-1-50 issue of "Look" magazine carried an article by Schlesinger entitled "What Made Them Turn Red?" which was anticommunist in nature. The article included public statements by the Director concerning Communist Party membership strength. On this occasion the Director noted concerning Schlesinger: "This fellow is a stinker and it is outrageous. Look magazine included our chart in Schlesinger's article."

The August, 1958, issue of "The Progressive" carried a critical review by Schlesinger of "Masters of Deceit" in which he called it "a paste-up job, superficial in its history, superficial in its analysis of the appeal of communism, superficial or worse in its own basic philosophy. This trivial book would hardly have won such glowing notices if it had not been signed by the Director of the FBI." Schlesinger termed the Director's theory that belief in God is the essential issue between communism and freedom as a "fairly trite statement in this age of piety." He said the Director misunderstood the American tradition in asserting that our faith in democracy is rooted in a belief in a Supreme Being, since agnostics and atheists have played an important role in American history. (100-348485)

RECOMMENDATION:

For the Director's information. V. [Signature] 2/1/5 [Signature]

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REC-27

100-348485-30

March 22, 1963

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REC'D-READING ROOM
FBIInformant

Dear [redacted]

Your letter of March 19th has been received and I want to express my appreciation for your warm comments regarding the achievements of the FBI.

With reference to the statements in Mr. Schlesinger's book which you mentioned, the following facts should serve to refute his innuendoes.

As you observed, the book, "The Politics of Upheaval," deals for the most part with conditions in the United States during the 1930's. It is to be noted that it was not until September of 1939 that, by Presidential directive, the FBI was charged with the internal security of the United States. The FBI can point with justifiable pride to its accomplishments in this field since that time. Not one act of enemy directed sabotage was experienced by this Nation during the entire course of World War II, and the list of Soviet spies detected and brought to justice by the FBI since the advent of the Cold War is too lengthy to enumerate here although the Rosenberg network, for one, comes immediately to mind. Of more recent vintage is the case involving [redacted] arrested by this Bureau in the act of passing classified military data to the Russians, and the successful prevention of acts of sabotage planned by the pro-Castro Cuban group which occurred in the past winter in New York.

I am enclosing some material bearing on the operations of the FBI which I hope you find of interest in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (5)

See encs. and NOTE next page

JET:pjt (3)

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[REDACTED]

Enclosures

Year-end Report to Attoreny General, 12-27-62

Know your FBI

1963 FBI Appropriation

FBI Annual Report, 1962

Expose of Soviet Espionage

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] or "The Politics of Upheaval." Arthur M. Schlesinger
is well-known to the Bureau as having espoused left wing causes.

Folsom
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Callahan
Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Evans
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

March 19, 1963

Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington,
District of Columbia.

Gentlemen:

In studying the history of the past thirty years, I've been reading Arthur M. Schlesinger's THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL (and other books describing the political, economic, and social history, particularly during the 1930's), in which he details certain political events during the New Deal years of 1935 and 1936. In a chapter titled "The Growth of a Conspiracy," Mr. Schlesinger highlights the activities of the Communist conspiracy in the United States, abetted by the numerous "fronts" which popped into being during the Thirties. He figuratively shrugs off the influence of these organizations, saying that most of these fellow-travelers were "idealists" led off on the wrong path.

It is the concluding paragraphs of this chapter which leave me wondering. As there are usually "two sides to a coin" would you care to comment on these paragraphs, which I quote verbatim?:

"Communist spies seem to have had little trouble eluding the counter-intelligence agencies. While the secret meetings were taking place, while documents were changing hands, while Russian intelligence agents gave orders in drugstores and cafeterias to their American operatives, neither the FBI nor G-2, the intelligence branch of the Army, nor the Office of Naval Intelligence developed enough evidence to cause the prosecution of a single case of espionage in the civilian side of government in Washington.

"Something was known -- mainly through Soviet bungling -- of industrial and military espionage. One Soviet agent was caught in New York trying to pass phony \$100 Federal Reserve notes, and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. Another was picked up in Los Angeles because he left compromising documents in a suit sent out for dry cleaning. Others were arrested on passport charges. Where evidence existed, prosecution followed.

"But there were no prosecutions in Washington, where Communist spies evidently emptied their pockets before sending suits to the cleaners. Nor was it that the "higher-ups," so prominent in the folklore of espionage prevalent in the early fifties, "protected" the spies.

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EXP. PROC.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation

March 19, 1963

It was rather the astonishing fact that the FBI and G-2 and ONI just never had the evidence to warrant indictment. They kept zealous watch on avowed Communists or fellow-travelers, or plain liberals, while the spies, secure in protective coloration, filled briefcases unmolested. The enforcement of the laws against espionage was the job of the counter-intelligence agencies, and they did it poorly. The American government knew no more spectacular failure than this in the decade of the thirties.

"In the meantime, the Communist conspiracy hung on, an underground creature, pallid but vicious, negligible and even comic in many of its aspects, yet still a great potential challenge to American democracy."

With many thanks for any comments you may see fit to make, and with continuing admiration for the magnificent record the FBI has made, and continues to make, in protecting the security of the United States, I am,

Sincerely yours



~~SECRET~~

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: January 16, 1963

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

(S) SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

b1

012p2

(S)

Reference is made to the memorandum from [REDACTED] to you dated 1-11-63 in the above-captioned matter. Subject is [REDACTED]

Referenced memorandum requested Liaison to advise that the Bureau has no objection to State's acting to [REDACTED]

On 1-15-63 [REDACTED] of the Liaison Section so advised [REDACTED] and pursuant to the action requested in referenced memorandum, briefed [REDACTED] as to the reasons the Bureau's data should not be used. [REDACTED] said he understood this well and would take every precaution in handling this delicate matter. [REDACTED] expressed his appreciation for our handling this request.

Prior to seeing [REDACTED] saw Mr. Francis E. Meloy, Director, Office of Western European Affairs, State. [REDACTED] mentioned to [REDACTED] the importance of [REDACTED]

Enclosures sent 1-21-63

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. Thomas
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. Evans

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan

Re: [REDACTED]

b1

(S) Mr. Melou advised that on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had lunch with [REDACTED]

At that time

b1
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b7C

(S) [REDACTED] mentioned that on the previous day he had lunch with Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of the White House staff. It was indicated during the conversation that Schlesinger had called [REDACTED]

(S) During [REDACTED] discussion with [REDACTED] the latter mentioned the subject's lunch with Schlesinger plus the fact that he was [REDACTED]

(S) Letters have been prepared to inform Attorney General (AG) and White House of above-reported meeting between [REDACTED] and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., of White House staff and to inform them [REDACTED]

(S) Letter to [REDACTED] has been prepared to confirm Bureau's position [REDACTED]

ACTION:

If you approve, the attached letters will be sent to the AG, P. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President, and Mr. Johnson.

wad
J
J

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OHBJ

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 5-15-62

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: HAROLD H. MARTIN
"THE SATURDAY EVENING POST"

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BACKGROUND:

You will recall that Martin recently was in contact with the Bureau concerning an article he was preparing for "The Saturday Evening Post" on the Communist Party, USA. We talked to Martin and he later submitted to us the rough draft of his proposed piece. Upon review, we found his article extremely disappointing in that it characterized the Communist Party (CP) as not being dangerous to the country. The first 2 pages in particular were very soft on communism, with the opening sentence reading, "The Communist Party in America is in a sorry state." The article then went on to point out that as a political power, the Party had little more influence than the Ku Klux Klan or the Black Muslims.

Martin indicated that he had a very short deadline and you will recall that you telephonically contacted him in Atlanta. At that time, you very categorically and strongly told him that you felt his entire approach was unworthy of the existing situation concerning the CP. You pointed out that, in the FBI's opinion, the CP did represent a serious menace which should be confronted by the American people in a sane and rational manner. At that time, [redacted] advised you that the [redacted]

[redacted] Subsequently, you furnished Martin an alternative opening for the article which he said he would consider. In addition, a number of factual errors were pointed out to Martin.

PUBLICATION OF ARTICLE:

Today, we secured a copy of the May 19, 1962, "Saturday Evening Post," which contains Martin's article under the title, "Communism: A Failure in America." The subtitle reads, "With membership at the Lowest Level in Twenty Years, the U. S. Party is 'an old, blind Tiger.' But it Can Still Be Dangerous." A review of the published article indicates that it is essentially identical with the draft we previously reviewed. However, he has changed the first 3 sentences, which gives the reader an impression now that the Party is more of a danger than he would have believed if he had read Martin's original version. The previous version reads:

"The Communist party in America is in a sorry state. As a political power, it has little more influence than the Ku Klux Klan, or the Black Muslims. In no city in the United States today could it elect a candidate to public office -- or keep one from being elected."

Enclosure

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Jones to DeLoach Memo
Re: Harold H. Martin

The revised version reads:

"The Communist Party in America is having its troubles--and they are not all with the law. In every field where it once was strong it is struggling now to regain its old influence, against the quickened animosity of the American people. Its membership is down to a hard-core cadre of old unshakables who still work with fervent devotion for the party, and they are as dangerous to us as rattlesnakes;"

Martin made a number of factual changes suggested by us but has not elsewhere changed either the structure or tone of the article. The FBI is mentioned several times in a minor way. It is reflected that FBI "informers" build up Party strength and that there is a jost at the moment that the Party is hopelessly split between its Albanian and FBI factions. Also, it says that Mr. Hoover, who, next to Gus Hall, knows more about the Party's strength than anyone else, agrees that Hall's figure of 10,000 Party members checks well with the FBI's own figures. Mention is also made that the FBI keeps watch on Party members and are very concerned about defectors who leave the Party and might lie fallow. Also, Martin points out that exaggerated claims of communists everywhere, "the FBI points out," causes excitable people to flood the Bureau with reckless charges which increases our investigative burden.

OBSERVATIONS:

The article as published definitely paints the CP in the U.S. as a failure, as an organization which does not have much influence. The entire tone of the piece is one of ridicule toward the communists. Martin feels that Party influence is virtually nonexistent and that there is not much to worry about in terms of security. However, at the end of the piece, he does mention communist strength in some unions and also threats in the form of espionage, sabotage and subversion in countries south of the border. However, with the change in the opening sentence, the article is now stronger on the communist danger than it was originally.

"THE FAILURE OF WORLD COMMUNISM":

④ The same issue of "The Saturday Evening Post" also contains an article by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., entitled "The Failure of World Communism." In fact, the editors seem to regard Schlesinger's and Martin's articles as companion pieces; namely, that communism has failed both in the world and America. Schlesinger, of course, is well known to the Bureau, having been a professor of history at Harvard and currently is an advisor to President Kennedy. This article is an extract from a forthcoming book by Schlesinger entitled "The Politics of Hope."

Schlesinger's article indicates that communism as an ideology has failed and that today all American liberals recognize that liberalism has nothing in common with communism either as to means or to ends. By 1962, Soviet policy has extinguished any remaining elements of idealism in the communist appeal. The Soviet Union is today

Jones to DeLoach Memo
Re: Harold H. Martin

emphasizing the theme that communism is going to win eventually and, therefore, noncommunists had better make their terms with a communist world. Schlesinger feels that the predictions of Marx as to the future have been wrong and that a "mixed society," involving capitalism and liberalism, is the best hope for the future.

A copy of the May 19, 1962, issue of "The Saturday Evening Post" is attached. Both Schlesinger's and Martin's articles have been marked.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

This issue was undoubtedly
deliberate on the part of
The Post -

gpc

JM

5/15

V.

I can understand better now
the views of the A.G. since
the latter is a great admirer
of Schlesinger!

K

March 29, 1962

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

An investigation was conducted concerning
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Special Assistant to the
President, and a summary memorandum containing the
results of the investigation was furnished to you on
March 7, 1961.

Information has now been received from
[redacted] with offices at
[redacted] Northwest, Washington, D. C.,
indicating that Mr. Schlesinger at one time presided
over a Communist Party cell meeting at Harvard
University. [redacted] stated he received his infor-
mation from a local attorney who requested anonymity.
[redacted] also stated that he has confidentially
furnished the above information to [redacted]

No investigation is being conducted in
connection with this allegation in the absence of a
specific request.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

BY COURIER SVC.
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NOTE: See cover memo Cleveland to Evans dated 3/28/62
captioned "Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., SM-C,
Special Inquiry - White House." WVC:mkr

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1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Cleveland

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22 MAR 30 1962

Mr. Evans

W. V. Cleveland

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Evans
1 - Mr. Stanley March 6, 1961
1 - Mr. Cleveland
1 - Mr. Morris
1 - Mr. Lake

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
SPECIAL INQUIRY

Special inquiry opened at request of Kennedy Administration 2/1/61 concerning Schlesinger, Harvard professor and writer, appointed Special Assistant to the President. Investigation complete except results of check of State Department Security Office not yet received.

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION (Information Included in Summary):

Schlesinger's father, also a professor at Harvard, reported was unwittingly associated with communist front groups in 1930's and early 1940's.

her father (deceased) connected with communist front prior to 1943. Associates described Schlesinger as strongly anticommunist, capable, of good character. He has advocated discontinuance of Dies Committee and defeat of restrictive legislation against communists; and one source believes he fails to recognize necessity for Government investigations of communists. A source advised that in 1947 he criticized FBI for "unwarranted interference" with American way of life. Schlesinger denied making this statement during interview with us in 1948.

INFORMATION NOT INCLUDED IN SUMMARY OR COVER LETTER:

Schlesinger on list of persons whom we do not contact. He has written twelve books and hundreds of articles containing his opinions on various political-type subjects. He questioned competency of FBI in 1950 article, and wrote unfavorable review of Director's book, "Masters of Deceit." On 3/11/59 we furnished James Hagerty at White House fifteen-page memorandum (attached) concerning Schlesinger which consists largely (pages 5-15) of excerpts from, and our analysis of, some of his writings between 1947 and 1953. These show he criticized communists, and has advocated socialism; has been inconsistent in indicating at one time an awareness of communist menace and necessity for security measures against them, and at other times, a lack of such awareness; and has implied both criticism and praise to FBI at different times.

Enclosures

1 - 100-348485 (Arthur Schlesinger)
① - 124-530 (" ")

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63 APR 12 1961

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100-348485-3 APR 5 1961

NOT RECORDED

168 APR 7 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-348485-3

Memorandum to Mr. Evans
Re: Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr.

OBSERVATIONS:

Analysis of Schlesinger's writings not being included in summary for transmittal to White House since it would entail review of all of his writings to insure completeness and to avoid any possibility of charge of lack of objectivity by Bureau, and because such an analysis would involve us in rendering opinions rather than fact-finding. Letter transmitting summary to White House includes statement to the effect our investigations did not include a review or analysis of his writings.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached cover letter and summary memorandum be delivered to Mr. O'Donnell at White House.

BS-8 Revised (6-17-59)

Harvard's Prof. Schlesinger To Join White House Staff as Kennedy Special Assistant

By CHARLES L. WHIPPLE
Globe Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON, Jan. 24—
Harvard Prof. Arthur M.
Schlesinger Jr., will be named
Special Assistant to the Presi-
dent, it was learned here to-
night.

Official announcement of
the appointment is expected
tomorrow or Thursday.

Throughout the campaign
last Fall, Schlesinger was ex-
tremely useful to Mr. Ken-
nedy, both in the preparation

of speech drafts and in the
planning of long-range policy.
He performed the same func-
tion in 1952 and 1956 for the
unsuccessful Democratic nom-
inee, now United Nations
Ambassador Adlai E. Steven-
son.

Schlesinger and the Presi-
dent have much in common
besides politics. They are the
same age—43. Both are adept
in the use of words.

SCHLESINGER

Page Eight

SCHLESINGER

Continued from the First Page

And the first commercially
published book each wrote
was originally his under-
graduate honors thesis at Har-
vard. In Mr. Kennedy's case,
it was his best-seller, "Why
England Slept."

Young Schlesinger's, a year
earlier in 1939, was on a Bos-
tonian of the early 19th cen-
tury, "Orestes A. Brownson,
a Pilgrim's Progress," and it
was a selection of the Catho-

lic Book Club.

And again, in 1947, both
Schlesinger and the President,
then a congressman, were
chosen as two of "the nation's
10 outstanding young men of
the year" by the U.S. Junior
Chamber of Commerce.
Schlesinger was chosen for
"showing through history how
the world of ideas and the
realm of action can profitably
cooperate."

The Harvard professor, it
seems, has been mixing ideas
with action in politics ever
since. Only last Fall, he pub-
lished a 51-page book that
joined the third volume of his
"Age of Roosevelt" series on
the best-seller list. It was en-
titled, "Kennedy or Nixon —
Does It Make Any Difference?
A Democrat's Response."

A leading liberal Democrat,
member of the national Dem-
ocratic Advisory Committee,
Prof. Schlesinger has also
been a national co-chairman
of "Americans for Democratic
Action."

Historian's View

He has the historian's long
view and many of his policies
have found their way into
major statements of the na-
tion's program.

In 1959, he predicted a
Theodore Roosevelt-type revo-
lution in American politics
and declared, "Cars get longer,
kitchens shinier, schools shab-
bier, teachers poorer, roads
more dangerous. Private
opulence and public squalor
are the signs of social irre-
sponsibility."

Schlesinger was born in
Columbus, O., the son of Ar-
thur M. and Elizabeth (Ban-

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Evans _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

Boston American, Boston, Mass.
☒ Boston Globe, Boston, Mass.
Boston Herald, Boston, Mass.
Boston Traveler, Boston, Mass.
Christian Science Monitor,
Boston, Mass.
Daily Record, Boston, Mass.

Date: 1-25-61
Edition: Morning
Author: Charles L. Whipple
Editor: Victor O. Jones
Title: ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, PROF.

Class. or Character: 100
Page: 1, 8
Bufile No.
Submitting Office: Boston 100-17132

100-348485-2
NOT RECORDED
117 FEB 6 1961

trated the book, "Twins in Our Home," and her husband has acknowledged her aid in the prefaces to his prize-winning books.

During World War II, Prof. Schlesinger served first with the Office of War Information, and then, from 1943 to 1945, with the Office of Strategic Services. As a corporal, he went overseas in June, 1944.

He returned to this country in November, 1945, and the following year, at the age of 29, won a Guggenheim Fellowship and became an associate professor of history at Harvard. He was made a full professor in 1954.

When only 27, in 1945, he had published his "Age of Jackson," and the volume catapulted him to national fame when it won the Pulitzer Prize. Reviewers agreed it was phenomenal both in its research and in its lively and readable style.

Last Fall the third volume of his Roosevelt series, "The Politics of Upheaval," was published. The first, "The Crisis of the Old Order," had won the \$3000 Bancroft Prize in 1958.

Prof. Schlesinger's academic output, however, deterred him not at all from political activity.

croft) Schlesinger. By the time he was seven, his father had become a professor of history at Harvard, and the boy entered the Cambridge public schools.

(Today the elder Schlesinger is professor-emeritus, but so great is his own fame as a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, too, that graduates and scholars in speaking of either one learned long ago to specify "Junior" or "Senior.")

Young Schlesinger's academic record has never been less than brilliant. From Cambridge, he went to Phillips Exeter Academy, where he graduated in 1933.

He graduated from Harvard summa cum laude, in 1938.

He was then awarded a fel-

lowship for a year's study at Cambridge University, England, and in 1940 wrote several special articles for the Boston Globe, one of which urged college youths not to oppose conscription.

Wife a Writer, Painter

From 1938 to 1942, he was a member of the Harvard Society of Fellows, and on Aug. 10, 1940, he was married to the former Marian Cannon, daughter of the late, famed Dr. Walter B. Cannon, dean of the Harvard Medical School.

They have four children: twins Katharine Bancroft and Stephen Cannon, 18, and Christina and Andrew Bancroft Schlesinger. They reside at 109 Irving st., Cambridge.

Mrs. Schlesinger is both a writer and a distinguished painter. She wrote and illus-



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

Mr. Tolson...
Mr. Belmont...
Mr. Mohr...
Mr. Casper...
Mr. Callahan...
Mr. Conrad...
Mr. DeLoach...
Mr. Evans...
Mr. Gale...
Mr. Rosen...
Mr. Sullivan...
Mr. Tavel...
Mr. Trotter...
Tele. Room...
Miss Holmes...
Miss Gandy...

March 29, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER

For you to take the time to write me your letter of March 22nd, with accompanying booklets on the FBI, was a very gracious gesture, and very satisfying to me. While Mr. Schlesinger is a prolific and talented historian, the many reported statements of his socialistic sympathies made me chary of accepting as whole cloth his statements regarding your organization. I felt sure that the fact was other than that "The American government knew no more spectacular failure than this (the enforcement of the laws against espionage) in the decade of the Thirties."

And let me say this at this point, as I write a check for \$450.00 to cover the balance of my 1962 Federal Income Tax. If every agency of the government used the taxpayers' dollars as efficiently as the FBI, there'd be small complaint with loosening hold of hard-earned monies to carry on the tremendous business which is the U. S. Government.

The reason I've been doing a lot of research of life in the late Thirties, and since then, is that I'm struggling with the compilation of material for a novel. With a few outstanding exceptions during the past twenty-odd years, the "litter-ature" which has suppurated out of the imaginations of some modern "writers" has bugged me so much I decided to try to write a novel which, while it would dramatize the erosion of values which made our country, would also contrast what I'm pretty sure was the true norm - and I hope still is - of the courage with which most of our people faced the depression, and then, within a few years, sent out their youth to serve its country with the same dedication which your organization has been doing for so long. As a Second U. S. Infantry Division veteran, I guess I can be allowed a small subjectivity in picturing some constructive "realism" during the fateful twenty-five years past.

REC-64

100-348485-31

An important theme in my story is the great harm done to the United States by the preening "intellectuals," particularly those in the educational field. Reliable writers such as Eugene Lyons, E. Merrill Root, and others, have reported the shocking fellow-traveling which so many professors in our ivied halls did in the 1930's. We all know the lasting impressions made on youth, and who would deny that the presentation of economics, political science, etc., in the Thirties - and I suppose, even after that - must have laid the groundwork on which ~~subversion~~, and treason, flourished. But, never having experienced this kind of teaching

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CORRESPONDENCE

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover

March 29, 1963

myself, it is imperative, for the sake of authenticity, to develop what were the contents, and who were the authors, of textbooks on economics and political science, particularly, which, it is stated, contained so much falsity, and to which the college students of the past twenty-five years - and I suppose those students at lower educational levels, too - were exposed.

I don't plan a "spy" story. But I do contemplate the deterioration of a couple of my characters who did not have the benefit of home and religious training, who fell under the spell of the malcontents, the malingerers, the amoral, and the disciples of a philosophy - Communism - which has plagued the world for the past forty years.

With many thanks for your reading of this letter, and appreciation to you and your organization for your patriotic service to the greatest country in the world, I am,

Sincerely yours



~~SECRET~~

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

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DATE: 09-14-2007

CLASSIFIED BY 60324 AUAC BAW/RS/VCF

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

09-14-2032

FBIQ

Date: 5/4/67

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

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b7C

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATT: INSPECTOR [REDACTED])
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: WNEW-TV DEBATE
ARTHUR J. SCHLESINGER, JR.
CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN
INFORMATION CONCERNING

On 4/30/67, ARTHUR J. SCHLESINGER, JR. and CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN, a Professor at New York University, debated "The Morality of Anti-Communism" over WNEW-TV, New York.

The 90 minute debate began with the question of whether anti-communism should be a feature in foreign policy. Mr. SCHLESINGER favored a policy of rational anti-communism while Professor O'BRIEN stated anti-communism is a very real presence in the country today.

At one point, O'BRIEN referred to the book "Masters of Deceit" and the author, J. EDGAR HOOVER. O'BRIEN quoted from the cover of the book a "New York Times" statement, "Most authoritative book written in America", and made the statement that this must be taken seriously. O'BRIEN referred to page 95 of the book and read what a communist is and then asked Mr. SCHLESINGER if this was obviously anti-communist in nature.

O'BRIEN then asked Mr. SCHLESINGER three questions:

1. Did he agree that Mr. HOOVER's definition of a communist was nonsense?

3-Bureau (Enc.1) ENCLOSURE
1-New York

TJH:EG
(5)

E.G. [REDACTED]
ecw

EX-111
REC-51
100-348465-32
MAY 5 1967
CR. ind. for 6 minutes
Retained per 4258
[REDACTED]

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CRIME RESEARCH

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

67 MAY 19 1967

~~SECRET~~

2. Was dissemination of such nonsense by the authority of the FBI reprehensible?

3. Is he in favor of retiring J. EDGAR HOOVER?

In Mr. SCHLESINGER's remarks that followed, he stated he wished to answer the three questions, "Yes, yes, yes"; that he had no hesitation about the questions. SCHLESINGER did state that he had a hesitation about taking J. EDGAR HOOVER very seriously as a deep thinker in national or international affairs; that J. EDGAR HOOVER's story-type communism was not a root for foreign policy.

On another occasion Mr. SCHLESINGER referred to the immaturity of J. EDGAR HOOVER on foreign policy. He said that he, SCHLESINGER, was opposed to waging war in Vietnam; that the current American administration does not share J. EDGAR HOOVER's views on communism; that the current administration was building bridges in Europe with communist countries and felt that communism today was not all bad.

(S) The debate at this point departed from Mr. HOOVER and communism and got into the subject of [redacted] the London magazine "Encounter", with which Mr. SCHLESINGER was at one time associated.

During questioning from the audience, a person asked Mr. O'BRIEN who the author was who wrote the statement for the "New York Times" that Mr. HOOVER's book "Masters of Deceit" was the most authoritative book written in America. Mr. O'BRIEN answered he did not know; that he was reading from the cover of the book.

The above are some of the pertinent segments taken from the tape of the show. The tape is being enclosed for the Bureau and need not be returned to the NYO.

*Schlesinger is another
jackass which enjoys
the -2- braying of his own
voice.*

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DATE 10-04-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. DeLoach _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Wick _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Gale _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

(Indicate page, name of
newspaper, city and state.)

2 BOSTON GLOBE
— Boston, Mass.

Date: 2/1/67
Edition: Evening
Author:
Editor: Thomas Wiaship
Title: MISC.-
ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER,
Re Viet Policy Jr.
Character:
or
Classification: 62-
Submitting Office: Boston
☐ Being Investigated

Schlesinger Hits Viet Policy
Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has criticized the nation's current foreign policy, saying it is based on the outdated assumption that world communism is a unified force. "Addiction to extinct cliches," he said, "leads our government to conclude . . . that the issue in Vietnam today is the restraint of Chinese aggression." Schlesinger told the 20th national Roosevelt Day Dinner of the Americans for Democratic Action in New York. This is wrong, he said.

59 FEB 9 1967

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191 FEB 9 1967

MAILED

JUN 3 1966

NAME CHECK

June 1, 1966

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, JR.
Born: October 15, 1917
Columbus, Ohio

Applicant-type investigations have been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned individual, the results of which have been furnished to the White House.

For detailed results of the investigations, you are referred to the Office of the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, attention [REDACTED] (161-262)

Original and 1 - USIA
Request Received - May 23, 1966

JBL:blk blk
(4)

NOTE: Captioned individual was Special Assistant to President John F. Kennedy who resigned in February, 1964, after the assassination of the President. Our investigation revealed his father was involved in several communist-front groups in the 1930's and 1940's. Details of our investigation were furnished the White House as set forth above. However, on December 17, 1963, an additional memo furnished to White House which contained summary of investigation and indicated three public source items occurring subsequent to the investigation.

62-
100-348485-
NOT RECORDED

46 JUN 10 1966

3 JUN 10 1966

SCATTERDAY
IDENT/OLDC

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of che of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

54 JUN 16 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN 161-262

October 17,

~~ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.~~
~~Born: October 15, 1917~~
~~Columbus, Ohio~~

Summary

Reference is made to your request for information concerning Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. subsequent to Bureau report dated June 6, 1961.

An additional applicant-type investigation concerning the captioned individual was conducted by this Bureau in January and February, 1967.

For detailed results of this investigation you are referred to [redacted] at the White House.

(161-262)

Original and 1 - USIA
Request Received - 10-3-67

GWP:wdd: [initials]
(4)

NOTE: Schlesinger was the subject of applicant-type investigations in 1948 and 1961. Investigations revealed his father was involved in several communist front groups in the 1930's and 1940's. Details of our investigation were furnished the White House. However, on December 17, 1963, an additional memo furnished to White House which contained summary of investigations and indicated three public source items occurring subsequent to the investigation.

REC- 60 / 00 - 34,842 [initials]

33

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EX-105

gms
13.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

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DATE 10-04-2007 BY 60324 AUC BAW/RS/VCF

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# 356 Date 10-9 Searcher Initial 734Prod. 19

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

~~I~~	62-110039-310 P#65
~~I~~	62-111181-20
~~I~~	100-445470-8 P#9
~~I~~	105-118599-291
~~I~~	105-138315-2970 P#74;
~~I~~	3073 P#107
~~L~~	105-167744-10 ep# 2
~~SL~~	140-0-A (Wash. Post 11-25-53)
~~I~~	140-0-2185
~~-~~	Arthur M. (B.H.)
~~SL~~	62-60527-33671 (Sum 4-27-53)
~~SL~~	62-80335-12 (Sum 12-12-45)
~~SL~~	94-1-1005-1508 (Sum 12-16-53)
~~SL~~	124-530-43 (Sum No Doc)
~~✓~~	161-262-35 (Sum 3-11-61)
~~✓~~	53 (Sum 1-30-63)
~~SL~~	62-60527-33807
~~I~~	105-151665 OCT 1 61967
~~I~~	100-441164-30-43 P#5
~~-~~	Arthur Meier (AKA)
~~SL~~	100-348485-12 (Sum 8-5-52)
~~✓~~	19 (Sum 9-22-54)
~~✓~~	22 (Sum 11-24-54)
~~✓~~	27 (Sum 3-10-59)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 10-9 Searcher Initial 734Prod. 7

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

Arthur Meier (AKA)SI 100-348485-28, (Sum 7-6-60)I 29 (Sum 11-14-60)SI 100-390895-1, (Sum 4-30-52)SI 2, (Sum 6-22-54)SI 3, (Sum 9-16-54)L 161-262-5, (Sum 2-27-61)L 36, (Sum 3-7-61)L 44, (Sum 12-6-61)L 55, (Sum 12-17-63)L 58, (Sum 7-28-64)L 60, (Sum 12-7-64)L 61, (Sum 3-31-66)L 62, (Sum 6-1-66)L 128, (Sum 2-15-67)L 129, (Sum 7-10-67)SI 62-51536-8 (Sum 8-29-52)SI 62-60527-40158, 40454R¹¹ 8

SEARCH SLIP

G.W. PLUTA
6118 I.B.Subj: Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.R# 218 Date 10-9 Searcher Number 734Prod: 5

OCT 9 1967

FILE NUMBERSERIAL

WFO Notation on Form BR 6-1-66

~~SL~~	100-348485 (E)	
~~ST~~	124-530	
~~L~~	161-262 (E)	
~~I~~	173-4232	R212
~~L~~	62-55263-286	
~~L~~	62-59238-180	
~~L~~	62-77306-136	(23)
~~L~~	77-0-462	R212

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE: 09-14-2007
CLASSIFIED BY 60324 AUAC BAW/RS/VCF
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)
09-14-2032

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Wick *Wick*

DATE: 5/9/67

FROM : M. A. Jones *Jones*

SUBJECT: PROFESSOR CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

018
BACKGROUND:

In his syndicated column which appeared in the May 4, 1967, issue of "The Washington Daily News," conservative pundit William Buckley, Jr., related that Professor Conor Cruise O'Brien had "pulverized" former presidential advisor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in a TV debate over "The Morality of Anti-Communism." According to Buckley, although Schlesinger ostensibly appeared on this show to defend the anticommunist nature of American foreign policy he, nevertheless, supported almost all of O'Brien's opposing views, including the proposition by O'Brien that "...J. Edgar Hoover was a dreadful influence on America, and that he should be fired."

Subsequently, our New York Office furnished taped segments from this debate, along with a concise summary of the critical comments made concerning the Director, which agree in essence with the Buckley article. A review of this tape by the Crime Records Division revealed that O'Brien, in his opening remarks to the debate, questions the prevailing notion in this country that there is a moral basis for anticommunism, citing the Director's book "Masters of Deceit" as an apparently official but obsessively mistaken United States view of communism. This entreaty by O'Brien leads to a brief discussion of Mr. Hoover in which Schlesinger agrees with O'Brien's critical assessments of the Director's role in shaping the anticommunist attitude of the American public.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES ON

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - D. C. Morrell

JHC:jma/emm (8)

184 MAY 18 1967

MAY 18 1967

67 MAY 19 1967

~~SECRET~~

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-104779

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M. A. Jones to Wick Memo

RE: [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

We have not conducted any investigation of [REDACTED]

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However, [REDACTED]

(S)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (105-104779)

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b7C

[REDACTED]

OBSERVATION:

Although O'Brien and Schlesinger obviously disagree with the Director's views on communism, their opinions on this subject are not at all surprising. It is noteworthy, however, that the forceful and definitive views of the Director as expressed in "Masters of Deceit" continue to have an impact in the high echelons of the academic community - nettlesome though it may be to some of its left-leaning communist apologists.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

~~SECRET~~

O'Brien's Night 4/3

By William Buckley Jr.



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR. was pulverized the other night, which is okay by a lot of people except that ostensibly he was put up there on the television program to defend the point of view that U.S. foreign policy, to the extent that it is anti-Communist, has a moral basis for being so. His adversary was Conor Cruise O'Brien, like Mr. Schlesinger a professor. Mr. O'Brien is an Irishman whose antipathy to the United States and to western ways has lately caused him to emerge as objectively pro-Communist.

An example: Mr. O'Brien said, on the television show sponsored by Metromedia, that developing nations tend to face three alternative forms of government. One, "bogus democracy." Two, "right wing despotism." Three, "Communism." As far as Mr. O'Brien is concerned, the man who chooses number three is just as moral as the man who chooses either of the other two.

Mr. Schlesinger, aide to President John F. Kennedy, author, writer, polemicist, wit, solon, dreadnaught, bumbled pietistical responses. The end result was to give the impression that his differences with Mr. O'Brien were not such as to warrant significant attention.

AN enormously interesting performance, especially if one reminds oneself that Mr. Schlesinger is a constant companion and mentor of Senator Robert Kennedy, who desires to become President of the United States.

One should be very explicit. Mr. Schlesinger managed in the course of the evening's rout to say 1) that in effect he agreed with everything O'Brien had to say about the Vietnam war. I.e., that it is cruel, needless, indefensible. 2) That he agreed with O'Brien that J. Edgar Hoover was a dreadful influence on America, and that he should be fired. And 3) that he agreed with O'Brien that there are no differences worth drawing between the Communist states and such "allegedly Free World states" as Portugal, Spain and South Africa.

What were we all listening for? The subject was "The morality of Anti-Communism." Mr. Schlesinger began by making a few points gently and genteelly, such as that he believed that communism is dogmatic, vain, cruel, and stupid. O'Brien said what the hell, so is Christianity dogmatic, so is Lyndon Johnson vain, so were the industrialists and slaveowners of the 19th Century cruel, so is American foreign policy stupid.

Schlesinger was so overcome by the arguments of his putative adversary, that the best he could do was to say that the non-Communist countries were not organically cruel, and that their systems carried within them the seeds of reform. To which O'Brien blithely answered that "free enterprise cruelty" (the Industrial Revolution) was not really any worse than the organized and capricious cruelty of Stalin; and that anyway the very fact that things were getting better all the time in the Soviet Union showed that the Communist states also generate the seeds of reform.

DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Conrad _____
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Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DUPE

The Washington Post _____
Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News 43 _____
The Evening Star (Washington) _____
The Sunday Star (Washington) _____
Daily News (New York) _____
Sunday News (New York) _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
World Journal Tribune _____
(New York) _____
The Sun (Baltimore) _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date MAY 4 1967

100-348485
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

ON a specific point, Mr. O'Brien absolutely proved to the audience that Mr. Schlesinger was just plain lying when, as recently as a few months ago, he wrote a public letter giving the impression that the British magazine Encounter had not been subsidized by the CIA. A founding editor of Encounter (Stephen Spender) turned out to be a member of the audience, and he more or less admitted that he too had come to know that it was a CIA affair. Dwight Macdonald, who worked for Encounter, admitted that he had been beguiled. And Schlesinger was left mumbling vague irrelevancies about how there was a difference between Encounter and the Congress for Cultural Freedom (there is no relevant difference: the latter subsidized the former); that he admitted he knew all about it when he joined the government (that was way back in 1961 for five years before he wrote his disingenuous letter); and anyway, aren't we in favor of free trade unions and the intellectuals?

It was O'Brien's night, all right. And one wonders what on earth got into Metromedia to sponsor an evening's "debate" between a pro-Communist (that is what, in context of the discussion, Mr. O'Brien most indisputably was), and a gentleman whose only enthusiasms of the evening were a denunciation of J. Edgar Hoover and of the Vietnam war.